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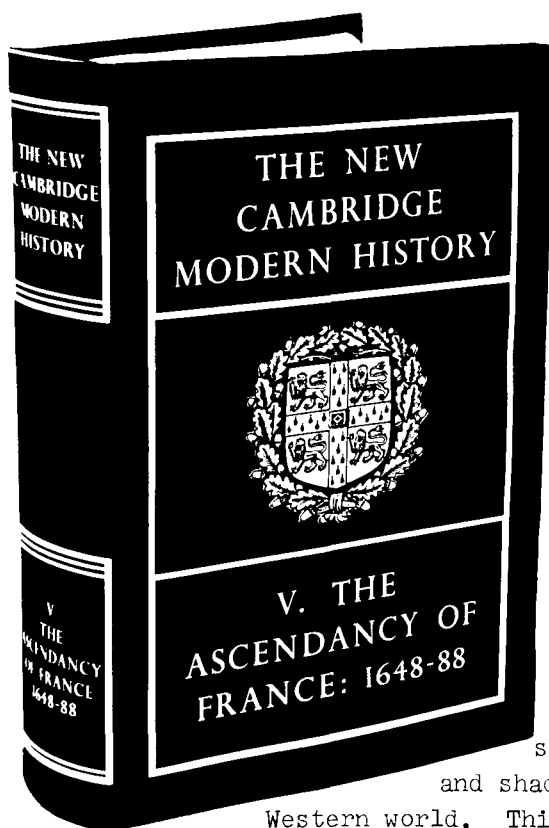
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The North's Empty Purse, 1861-1862

BRAY HAMMOND*

IN January 1862 the federal Congress was suddenly told that if the rebellion of the South was to be stopped, the Union must meet pending expenses with paper made legal tender, not with coin. This was presented as bad news and received as such. The majority was shocked by a proposal so wild and wicked. The plight of the Union was not denied, but the necessity of paper money was.

Only for the more realistic was the remedy less appalling than the plight. So far nothing had stopped the South. During the special session in the previous summer, called by President Lincoln to provide ways and means to fill the North's empty purse, Congress had been interrupted and humiliated by the first affair at Bull Run. Ball's Bluff and the *Trent*, among other misfortunes, had followed. Meanwhile, during autumn, the solutions pro-

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vided at the special session had availed less and less. "The expenditures everywhere are frightful," the Secretary of the Treasury, Salmon P. Chase, wrote in October. "The average daily drafts of the Treasury for two weeks past have been a million and three quarters at least" and "largely in excess of its means." He said he was mortified and distressed beyond measure.¹

Yet the Secretary, like Congress, could not bear the proposal that the Treasury's needs be met by the issue of a paper currency made legal tender. He too believed that such a currency (since then known as "greenbacks") was unconstitutional, immoral, and destructive. He was governed by a hard-money tradition running back to the federal convention of 1787, when the conservative rationalists who were deliberating in Philadelphia had "shut and barred the door" against paper money. That tradition, finding sponsorship later in a very different camp, had acquired sanctity from Thomas Jefferson, John Taylor of Caroline, and Andrew Jackson, who had made hard money an eminently Democratic doctrine, professed less fervently and absolutely by the Whigs also. It had never been challenged as a political tenet and was now revered by the Republicans, especially by those who with Secretary Chase had formerly been Democrats. Hard money convictions were passionate. When the greenbacks were first proposed, as a Republican measure, Owen Lovejoy of Illinois—Republican himself, abolitionist, and friend of Lincoln—was incredulous. "There is no precipice," he cried, "there is no chasm, there is no possible yawning bottomless gulf before this nation so terrible, so appalling, so ruinous as this same bill" that would make United States notes a legal tender. A few months later, he changed his mind, but it was because he had come to consider the greenbacks, as later agrarians commonly did, to be an alternative to bank notes and deadly to the bankers. On the contrary, the greenbacks were sought by bankers.²

The legal tender proposal came before Congress in January 1862—a time of deepening dismay. George McClellan's advance on Richmond was being awaited with bewildered impatience. The requirements of the armed forces for weapons, ammunition, shelter, clothing, and pay were not being adequately met. There were more men than means. At best, the task of supply was difficult, but it was being made worse by the inability of the Treasury to pay its bills promptly. For the government's suppliers normally borrowed of their banks the funds needed for their materials and payrolls, and upon com-

¹ Jacob W. Schuckers, *Life and Public Service of Salmon Portland Chase* (New York, 1874), 430–31.

² Bray Hammond, *Banks and Politics in America from the Revolution to the Civil War* (Princeton, N. J., 1957), 91–103, 362; *Congressional Globe*, 37 Cong., 2 sess., 691, 804, 2884–85.

pletion of their orders and receipt of payment, they repaid what they owed and borrowed afresh in order to fill new orders. From the beginning, however, payment by the Treasury had been slow and uncertain. Long before December 1861 contractors were in difficulties with their payrolls, their purchases of materials, their repayment of debts, their procurement of new loans, and their deliveries. The result was a universal damper on the delivery of supplies and on military preparations.³

The inadequacy of the Treasury's funds had become greater because the war had induced a drastic decline in imports and consequently in customs, which provided the bulk of federal revenue. Thus expenses grew, and income shrank. Making matters worse, Chase had ordered in August 1861 that the Treasury's transactions continue to be in gold—not in checks, not in bills, but in gold. That is, he continued a major requirement of the Independent Treasury Act of 1846, which for fifteen easygoing years had held the Treasury to a primitive monetary practice that the world in general was leaving farther and farther behind. The requirement was in effect that all payments to and by the Treasury be in coin. It isolated the Treasury within a barrier of gold and left bankers to enjoy the freedom bestowed on them by Jackson's destruction of the Bank of the United States. Agrarian ideals, influenced by ancient fears of misrule, had maintained a "simple" government with strictly limited powers, letting the business world proliferate meanwhile in a Jeffersonian paradise of *laissez faire*. As an operating organization, the federal government remained much the same as in 1800. Meanwhile the economy, thanks to mechanical inventions and advances in commercial and financial procedures, had become amazingly developed and specialized. Consequently, the government, trying to lead a modern economy in the first of modern wars, was like an oxcart dragging behind it a locomotive and a train of cars.

In the special session, the requirement that all Treasury transactions be in gold had wisely been suspended. Congress realized that the Treasury in its new and growing responsibilities must be freed from the necessity of having its gold carried to and fro, cumbrously and expensively, and when it was paid out, of having to wait for it to circulate back into the Treasury vaults to be used in succeeding payments. At a time when war confronted the Treasury with growing demands and simultaneously caused its revenue from customary sources to shrink—when the government and the economy were being forced, in self-preservation, to become bedfellows once more—it was

³ Chase to William Fessenden, Feb. 25, 1862, National Archives, U. S. Treasury, Committee Correspondence, V, 237-38; E. W. Dunham to Chase, Dec. 21, 1861, S. P. Chase Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress; *Appleton's Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1862 (42 vols., New York, 1863-1903), II, 454-56.

important that every impediment to Treasury transactions be removed. As the *New York Times* put it, there was a “virtual repeal” of the Independent Treasury Act. Chase should have been grateful for this release from the gold requirements; instead, for vague reasons, he refused to be released. Several things may have been involved, largely emotional, such as an unquestioning reverence for gold. He had also, perhaps, a greater interest in constitutional reform than in immediate financial needs. He was a jurist, not a financier, and the Constitution meant more to him than did cash. For he believed that the existing banks, under state charter, were unconstitutional, and he may have felt that to accept their credit would be to condone their unconstitutionality and impede restoration of the federal authority over money through establishment of a system of federally chartered banks. Whatever the reasons for his refusal to do what Congress had permitted him to do, the consequence was continued reliance on means of payment practicable during the Wars of the Roses but not in a major conflict four hundred years later.⁴

The special session had also authorized Chase to pay the government’s creditors in what were called “demand notes.” These were not in fact redeemed in gold on demand despite the implication of that purpose, they bore no interest, and they were soon regarded by a good part of the business world with dissatisfaction. To refuse them was unpatriotic and to accept them improvident. For if a contractor accepted them and his bank did not, he could not pay his indebtedness, he could not borrow more, and he could not make or complete a new contract. If his bank rejected them, it was because it too faced trouble in their use. Since they bore no interest, they could not be counted as earning assets unless taken at a discount, which for a bank was too speculative. And they were not money because they could not be counted on to discharge the bank’s debts to its customers or to the clearing house. Unless it protected itself by special contract, a bank courted trouble even if it accepted them as a deposit, because otherwise it was obliged to repay deposits in gold no matter how they originated.

When the banks, driven to the wall at the close of 1861, had to cease paying out gold, they eased their situation somewhat by retaining possession of their one most important asset, but they put themselves in fresh predicaments of a legal sort. They were required by common law to pay their customers in legal tender, which in practice meant gold; in New York, the money center, the state constitution forbade the legislature to grant immunity to banks that

⁴ Robert B. Warden, *Private Life and Public Services of Salmon Portland Chase* (Cincinnati, Ohio, 1874), 386–88; Elbridge G. Spaulding, *Legal Tender Paper Money* (2d ed., Buffalo, N. Y., 1875), 1–2, Appendix, 52; *New York Times*, Aug. 2, 3, 5, 1861.

could not or did not pay in gold. They were also subject to various requirements and penalties under legislation of the individual states, which made them liable to loss of charter and to bankruptcy proceedings. In many states they were required to maintain reserves of gold in proportion to the amount of their deposits and notes; at the special session of Congress the previous summer these requirements, as described by Senator William P. Fessenden, had impelled Congress to suspend the Independent Treasury Act. The law quite aside, moreover, they were variously subjected to such requirements by custom, practical necessity, and formal agreement. After gold payments were stopped, therefore, the banks were conducting their business in violation of law and of proper practice. They were liable to trouble from the authorities, from their customers, and from one another, from the latter especially at the clearing house, where punctuality was demanded, and a strong creditor bank could readily shut a weak competitor and do it with a good conscience.⁵

And so whatever the bankers did was wrong. If they accepted government notes offered by their debtors, they would become liable to legal action and useless to the Treasury, their tills and portfolios promise-crammed. If they refused what they were offered, they would impair the government's credit and the worth of their own assets. They would also find themselves damned as Copperheads. Either way they were bound for insolvency. Their prominence as debtors and as the monetary channel of economic transactions, moreover, made them ready objects of attack when anything went amiss. The seriousness of their dilemma is indicated by the fining of a Boston bank at the instance of the Massachusetts Bank Commissioners in the autumn of 1861 because it had less gold on hand than the law required. Again less than six months later, when banks in New York were trying to pay their depositors and other creditors in notes that Congress had declared retroactively to be a legal tender (although they bore no words to that effect, having been printed before the declaration) a number of them were "sued for refusing to redeem their notes otherwise than in this currency."⁶

It was in fear of such predicaments, bound to arise in the confused and unexpected situations which war was bringing on, that the issue of a statutory substitute for gold was proposed. Bankers and other debtors, including the Treasury itself, could then require acceptance of the substitute by creditors. "Such notes," a Philadelphia banker, John B. Austin, explained to Chase in a letter of January 18, 1862, "can be safely taken by the banks in any quantity

⁵ *House Executive Document*, No. 25, 37th Cong., 3 sess. (Ser. 1161), 52 ff., 125 ff.; Hammond, *Banks and Politics*, 713-17; *Congressional Globe*, 37 Cong., 1 sess., 396; *New York Herald*, Jan. 10, 1863.

⁶ 4 Allen (Mass. Reports), 2; *Banker's Magazine*, XVI (Mar. 1862), 748-49; J. J. Cisco to Chase, Mar. 6, 1862, National Archives, U. S. Treasury Asst. Treasurer's Correspondence.

because under all circumstances they will pay the obligations of the banks, whereas, unless they be a legal tender, banks would fear that whilst they may receive any amount of them to-day, to-morrow their creditors may not receive them, leaving the banks to suffer whatever loss or inconvenience may arise." Taxes should be levied, and "the next great measure" should be "the issue of at least \$100,000,000 of United States Treasury notes, receivable for all dues and being a Legal Tender for all obligations."⁷

Three days later, in a letter to the Secretary, John A. Stevens of New York, president of the Bank of Commerce, the country's leading bank, presented the case for legal tender notes on broader grounds. He too put first the need of "a large and efficient tax bill"; second, the need of exchequer bills, bearing interest to "be used in payments to contractors"; and third, the need of a choice, but "quickly," between two alternatives. Either the government must at once "flood the market" with its obligations for whatever they would bring, "entirely disregarding the great sacrifice" at which they must be sold "and also disregarding the great injury to investors who had already taken such obligations at higher prices"; or "the government must issue demand notes, making them a legal tender." Unless the notes were made a legal tender, the banks would not and could not accept them in any considerable amounts. He dreaded the evils of irredeemable paper money as much as anyone, he said, and had far rather avoid "the use of demand notes as a legal tender." But he could think of nothing preferable. These opinions, Stevens wrote Congressman Spaulding a week later, January 29, 1862, he had "long entertained and frequently expressed." Weeks before, according to the New York *Herald*, he had been "popularly supposed" to favor recourse to legal tender paper.⁸

Seven years later the question as to whether legal tender notes should be issued was replaced by the question as to whether they should be retired. Henry F. Vail, cashier of the Bank of Commerce, New York, thought they should be, though he had advocated their issue in 1862. For then they had been needed. "I appeared before the Senate Finance Committee," he said, "and fully explained to them the working of the bank settlements through the Clearing House and the impossibility of forcing a circulating medium of the demand notes issued by the Treasury unless they were made a legal tender. . . ."⁹

Such statements make evident a conviction among bankers and business-

⁷ Austin to Chase, Jan. 18, 1862, Chase Papers, Library of Congress.

⁸ J. A. Stevens to Chase, Jan. 21, 1862, Chase Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania; Spaulding, *Legal Tender*, 47; New York *Herald*, Dec. 6, 1861.

⁹ Spaulding, *Legal Tender*, Appendix, 57-58.

men in New York, Boston, and Philadelphia that in the crisis involving military supply and Treasury payments during the winter months of 1861-1862, the interest not only of the armed forces, of their suppliers, and of the Treasury, but of the banks themselves, imperatively required that the Treasury's demand notes be made legal tender and their volume increased. Yet there was also a conviction that to make them legal tender, though necessary, was dangerous and deplorable and that they would produce at best but temporary ease, during which an austere tax program must be agreed upon. They were not proposed as a slick means of obtaining money without effort but as something made unavoidable by past omissions, past mistakes, and the swelling burden of the war.¹⁰

The bankers, however, were not all of one mind. Some preferred that the Treasury obtain money by selling bonds at whatever the market would allow—eighty dollars, say, for a one-hundred-dollar bond, or even less. This course, as John Stevens had told Chase, would be costly to the government and might depress the price of bonds to the point of bankrupting the owners of earlier issues. E. W. Dunham, president of the Corn Exchange Bank, New York, said “it would be suicidal.” Yet it had support, in part from the conventional dislike of paper money, but more specifically because the government, by issuing legal tender notes, would substitute its authority for the recognized value of gold and of commercial commodities on which the solvency of banks rested. In January a delegation of bankers headed by James Gallatin of New York went to Washington to urge such considerations. As “representatives from Boards of Trade, Chambers of Commerce, and banking institutions,” they made an accord with Chase, who shared their conviction that legal tenders were the worse alternative and could be made unnecessary by more openhanded transactions in bonds. But they got no further. John B. Austin wrote from his Philadelphia bank that though invited to join the delegation, he had declined because he “did not agree with their financial theories.” Samuel Walley of Boston had joined, but on his return home he telegraphed Chase that the Boston banks would not assent to the accord that had been reached “and advised the immediate making of United States notes legal tender.” M. H. Grinnell, one of New York's most important merchants, wrote that in New York there were “not eight bank presidents” that sided with Gallatin, whom he called “an odd fish” with “very little influence.” A

¹⁰ Among other New York correspondents of Chase's who expressed such opinions were George Opdyke, manufacturer, capitalist, and mayor; E. W. Dunham and J. E. Williams, presidents respectively of the Corn Exchange and Metropolitan Banks; and M. H. Grinnell, shipper, merchant, and capitalist. Spaulding, *Legal Tender*, 23-25, 47; Opdyke to Chase, Jan. 28, Feb. 14, 1862; Dunham to Chase, Dec. 21, 1861, Chase Papers, Library of Congress; New York *Tribune*, Dec. 24, 1861; New York *Times*, Dec. 31, 1861; New York *Herald*, Oct. 30, 1861; *Congressional Globe*, 37 Cong., 2 sess., 789.

week later, George Opdyke wrote that the legal tender proposal was gaining friends in New York “every hour, insomuch that there is now a good degree of unanimity in its favor among our banks, capitalists, and merchants.” The New York *Times* said much the same. The Gallatin group was repeatedly called by the press a small minority—“six or eight bank gentlemen,” “less than one-sixth of the bank officers,” “half a dozen,” and so on. They were conclusively snubbed by the fiscal committees in Congress, and Chase had consequently to go along with those who thought the issue of legal tenders the less objectionable choice.¹¹

Indeed the Secretary was soon begging for them. “The Treasury is nearly empty,” he wrote on February 3. He feared the banks would “refuse to receive the United States notes unless made a legal tender.” He wrote on February 5 that he hoped the House would act “to-day.” “Able and leading financial men” in Boston and New York, he reported, were “deeply anxious” for the legal tender enactment. So, now, was he.¹²

Yet the greenbacks were but the minor and preliminary element of a new and comprehensive fiscal program in which taxes and borrowings were major, the borrowings to be facilitated by a national system of banks whose demand should greatly enlarge the market for government bonds. The program, which in the end filled the Union’s empty purse, dealt with both the immediate emergency and eventual needs. It was the work of several members of Congress mostly engaged in business. They were Samuel Hooper and John B. Alley of Massachusetts, the first being one of Boston’s most successful merchants and the second a wealthy shoe manufacturer of Lynn; Justin Morrill, a country merchant from Strafford, Vermont; Elbridge G. Spaulding, a banker from Buffalo; Thaddeus Stevens of Lancaster, Pennsylvania, a lawyer and not very successful iron manufacturer; and Senator John Sherman of Ohio, a lawyer. The group had no formal unity. Alley was not a member of the Ways and Means Committee. Morrill opposed the greenbacks, and he and Spaulding opposed the national bank scheme, both of which were advocated by all the others. Stevens was chairman of the Ways and Means Committee; Sherman was a member of the Senate Finance Committee, whose chairman, Fessenden, also opposed the legal tenders. The

¹¹ Dunham to Chase, Dec. 21, 1861; Austin to Chase, Jan. 18, 1862; Walley to Chase, Feb. 8, 1862; Opdyke to Chase, Feb. 8, 1862, Chase Papers, Library of Congress; Warden, *Chase*, 406–407, 409; David Donald, *Inside Lincoln’s Cabinet* (New York, 1954), 64; Spaulding, *Legal Tender*, 18–23; Henry Adams, *Historical Essays* (New York, 1891), 300, 302; New York *Times*, Jan. 18, 22, 23, 24, 26, Feb. 10, 1862; New York *Tribune*, Jan. 21, 22, 1862; New York *Herald*, Jan. 13, 14, 20, 1862.

¹² *Congressional Globe*, 37 Cong., 2 sess., 617–18, 661; Spaulding, *Legal Tender*, 45, 46, 59–60, 71.

men evidently most responsible for the program and its three parts—taxes, borrowings, and legal tender notes—were Hooper and Alley, both experienced in business, and Stevens and Sherman, both parliamentarians.

Of these four, the first two are the least known. John B. Alley (1817-1896) began his career as apprentice to a shoemaker in Lynn, then spent two years in the transport business on the Mississippi, and in 1838 returned to Lynn to manufacture shoes. He prospered and in 1847 established also a hide and leather business in Boston. After serving in the Massachusetts legislature, he was in Congress from 1859 to 1867 and a member of the Pacific Railway Committee. He was a friend of Oakes Ames, whom he championed, and was for a short, unhappy time a director of the Union Pacific and of *Crédit Mobilier*.¹³ Samuel Hooper (1808-1875) was the son of a Marblehead merchant and had his first business experience in the local bank of which his father was president. He became the son-in-law of William Sturgis, prominent Boston merchant, was later a partner of William Appleton, and after Appleton's death, became the proprietor of his own business, active especially in the China trade, in iron, and in banking. In the Massachusetts legislature he was sponsor of that state's general banking law and in Congress of the National Bank Act, in both instances with Alley as an associate. The two were not prominent in debate but influential in committee work. Hooper succeeded William Appleton in Congress, where he served from 1861 to 1875.¹⁴

Chase originated no part of the program. His basic debt was to Albert Gallatin's policy in the trying Napoleonic era sixty years earlier. Chase was a man of impressive appearance and of great capabilities other than financial. He had an understanding of money that was legalistic and political rather than practical, and he had too many interests outside the Treasury. He went along with taxes sluggishly, with borrowings ineptly at first and then sensibly, and with the national bank plan more energetically than its immediate possibilities warranted.

Certain factors, which are scarcely evidence, suggest that in the last weeks of 1861, when it appeared that the year would end with Union finances in no better shape than in March, Samuel Hooper and John A. Stevens, with other businessmen chiefly in New York and Boston, devised a program that began

¹³ "John B. Alley," *Biographical Directory of the American Congress* (Washington, D. C., 1950); 42 Cong., 3 sess. (Ser. 1577), *House Committee Reports*, No. 77 (Poland Report), Index, "Alley, John B."; *ibid.*, No. 78 (Wilson Report), Index, "Alley, John B."; Jay B. Crawford, *The Crédit Mobilier of America* (Boston, 1880), 46, 96-101, 106-109, 120-24; Nelson Trotman, *History of the Union Pacific* (New York, 1923), 32, 33, 40, 69; *Oakes Ames, A Memoir* (Cambridge, Mass., 1883), 92.

¹⁴ "Samuel Hooper," *Dictionary of American Biography* (22 vols., New York, 1928-58); Samuel Hooper, *Currency or Money* (Boston, 1855); *id.*, *Specie in Banks* (Boston, 1860), 5; Schuckers, *Chase*, 292.

with legal tender notes as a means of easing the immediate crisis and proceeded with main reliance on taxes and borrowings. To the latter, with currency reform, a system of banks chartered by the federal government was ancillary. This program, with its militant resort to federal sovereignty, was a radical one. It defied two traditions: hard money and states rights. It was enacted slowly and piecemeal. To this program Chase gave support varying from the grudging to the indefatigable. He was fondest of the national bank proposal, which, though it accomplished a constitutional reform of revolutionary importance, was of far less help to the war than the war was of help to it.

The new program was first put before Congress by Alley, speaking on the state of the Union on January 23, 1862. Alley declared the government to be "upon the eve of bankruptcy," with its suppliers "knocking at the doors of the Treasury for the payment of their honest dues until hundreds are already ruined, and unless something is speedily done you may soon count them by thousands." He designated "three great financial measures" which were needed. The first would authorize "the issue of \$100,000,000 of Treasury demand notes . . . made a legal tender." This would "afford immediate relief to the creditors of the government" at a time when the Treasury was "unable to meet its liabilities." The second measure, "simultaneous with this," would levy a tax of \$150,000,000. The third would authorize a national currency of bank notes secured by the pledge of government bonds. Alley would "not be in favor of either of these three measures standing alone; but in combination" they would "confer the triple benefit" of relief for the Treasury's immediate needs, of confidence restored by adequate taxation, and of a sound and ample currency, to sustain which a new market for government bonds would arise.¹⁵

Five days after Alley's presentation of the "three great financial measures," Spaulding opened debate on the first of them. What had happened seems odd, since Alley was not a member of the Ways and Means Committee. It had fallen to Spaulding as a subchairman to prepare the legal tender bill and introduce it, which he had already done when Alley spoke. But Alley had made no specific reference to it as on the calendar, nor did Spaulding, either then or later in his "history" refer to Alley's speech. But the situation, being an unusual one, must be supposed to have called for unique procedure. The legal tender measure came before Congress with most members of the Ways and Means Committee opposed to it. Morrill, a subchairman and one of the most influential members, was bitter against both greenbacks and

¹⁵ *Congressional Globe*, 37 Cong., 2 sess., 457-60. This speech of Alley's is not indexed in the *Globe* as dealing with legal tender or other fiscal subjects, and it precedes Spaulding's opening of the legal tender debate. For these reasons, probably, it has hitherto been overlooked.

national banks; Thaddeus Stevens, chairman and mangler of men, was making difficulties for Chase while Hooper was trying to correct and sustain him. More particularly, Spaulding was a vain, flamboyant person, and perhaps Hooper, fearing his presentation of so unwelcome an element of the program, got Alley to put the program in a constructive light. Perhaps, on the other hand, Spaulding acquiesced in Alley's comprehensive introduction to the debate, for he may not yet have made up his mind to oppose the national banks as he strenuously did later. At any rate, presumably for both personal and parliamentary reasons, he chose a form of presentation from which all but the government's interest in the legal tender measure was omitted. He concentrated on its sheer necessity, going very little into the details of the necessity, deploring it, but relying much on nationalistic emotion, and demanding a prompt enactment. The argument was the simpler and the more persuasive for its silence about the bankers' predicament; to have let the measure become entangled in the technicalities and interests of their business would have raised fatal complexities and objections. Spaulding said that by the time the proposed notes could be readied, all other available means of payment in the Treasury would be exhausted. Import duties and new taxes would be wholly inadequate to meet requirements during the next six months. He believed it would be ruinous to throw bonds on the market in an effort to raise enough money. To put down the rebellion it would be necessary to exercise "all the sovereign power of the government to sustain itself." There was no suggestion that the legal tenders were an adequate or easy or principal means of filling the national purse; they were simply the means, deplorable but unavoidable, of passing a crisis.¹⁶

Hooper, like Alley, discussed the proposed legal tenders as one of three measures forming "a comprehensive system" by which the war was to be financed, the other two being the levy of new taxes and the authorization of a system of national banks, whose purchases of bonds to guarantee their issues of circulating notes would create a new supply of funds for the government. The legal tender measure was temporary, the other two permanent. "The levying of the contemplated tax, the proper inauguration of the new banking scheme, and the successful negotiation of a new loan" would require time. To support the government in the interval was the purpose of the legal tenders. "Contractors and others" who were supplying the government and to whom the government was indebted were themselves indebted to their creditors on account of their contracts, and when called to pay their indebtedness they were "put to great inconvenience by the delay of the government

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 523-26.

in paying them." The whole program purposed \$150,000,000 in legal tender notes, \$150,000,000 in taxes, and \$500,000,000 in fresh loans. A year later, January 1863, Hooper reverted to this statement on the "three measures," reminding Congress that the legal tender and tax measures had both been enacted and pressing next for authorization of the national banks.¹⁷

In the Senate, Sherman emphasized that "almost every recognized organ of financial opinion in this country" deemed the legal tender notes "indispensably necessary." In less than five months \$350,000,000 had to be obtained by the Treasury and paid out. Already, he told Congress, \$100,000,000 was "due and payable to your soldiers, to contractors, to the men who have furnished provisions and clothing for your army, to your officers, your judges, and your civil magistrates." The banks had already exhausted their means; those in New York, Boston, and Philadelphia had "more than their capital in bonds of the United States." They could not aid the government further unless the proposed currency were made "lawful money which they could pay to others as well as receive themselves." Senator Henry Wilson of Massachusetts, formerly a shoe manufacturer, said that in a letter he had just received, "signed by several large commercial houses," he was told that the writers "do not know a merchant in the city of Boston engaged in active business who is not for this legal tender."¹⁸

The arguments of bankers and businessmen for the legal tenders were not at all those with which the Populists and Greenbackers later made the prairie welkin ring, but some of the latter were foreshadowed. William Kellogg, a Republican from Illinois, speaking in the House on February 6, 1862, asserted not only the government's constitutional power to issue paper money and give it "intrinsic value" by statute but that doing so would transfer control of the currency from "the huckster, the broker, the banker," and the "harpy speculator" to "the producers of the West." For though "our barns, our granaries, our storehouses are filled," he said, and though there was "wealth in abundance" among the western farmers, "a reliable currency" such as the legal tenders was needed "to represent this wealth." Likewise John Bingham, Republican from Ohio, defended the "rightful authority of the American people as a nationality, a sovereignty," and defied those who had rather lay control of the currency "at the feet of brokers and of city bankers." Money, he said, is whatever the people say is money. Such sentiments indicate an affinity not to have been expected between a newly emerging economic and political aim, largely agrarian, and the desperate remedy of bankers for an acute weakness in the Union's war effort. They also express

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 615-17; 38 Cong., 1 sess., 384, 387.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 37 Cong., 2 sess., 788-89.

a fresh and passionate nationalism precociously disposed to ascribe to sovereignty the mystical power of creating by statute what previously had been left to Providence and no longer disposed to fear the hypertrophy of government that since then has been so persistently stimulated.¹⁹

In his introductory speech, Alley had touched on another consideration also reiterated indiscriminately in later years: that the issue of legal tender notes would enlarge the volume of currency and raise prices. In the minds of many, he said, this was the greatest objection to the proposal, but in his opinion it was "at the present juncture a great merit." Though he had always been "an advocate of a restricted currency" and "would always fetter paper issues with stringent provisions," nevertheless, he did not think restriction was everything. "There are times in the histories of nations as well as individuals," he said, "when contraction is detrimental to their interests and expansion the salvation of all." The superstition which he went against was that contraction, like purging, was always best. Neither did he recommend continuous expansion.²⁰

The arguments against a legal tender issue were the conventional ones of unconstitutionality, immorality, and inexpediency. The Democrats elaborated them on principle and as the opposition. Some Republicans joined them. In the Senate Charles Sumner and Fessenden sought to prevent the proposed issue, but in the end voted with their party. In the House, Morrill, Roscoe Conkling, and Owen Lovejoy were prominent among the Republicans who defied their allegiance and voted with the Democrats.

The immediate results of the bill's enactment on February 25, 1862, bore out immediate purposes. The difficulties of the Treasury and of the banks were alleviated. The notes, which in a matter of months began to be called greenbacks, provided a means of payment that satisfied the laws and most creditors. At the close of the fiscal year, according to Chase, "every audited and settled claim on the government and every quartermaster's check for supplies furnished which had reached the Treasury had been met." And *Appleton's Annual Cyclopedia* reported that the new notes, "being a legal tender, at once took the place of gold as a means of redemption for bank notes and thus relieved the banks from the dilemma in which under the state laws they had been placed. . . ." ²¹

The first issue of \$150,000,000 was followed in time by issues aggregating \$300,000,000, and opponents of the legal tenders, then and later, talked as if

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 679-81, 636-37.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 459.

²¹ *Senate Executive Document*, No. 1, 37 Cong., 3 sess. (Ser. 1149), 10; *Appleton's Annual Cyclopedia*, 1862, II, 455; Hugh McCulloch, *Men and Measures of Half a Century* (New York, 1888), 136-38; *Banker's Magazine*, XVI (Apr., June 1862), 809-10, 923-24.

the initial issue had caused the later ones, after the pattern of drug addiction. Instead, it was the unanticipated costs of war that produced the later issues. When one considers the Union's unreadiness and its commitment at the outset to obsolete and impractical procedures, the surprising thing is that recourse to taxation and a civilized use of the banking mechanism so soon removed the need of fiat financing. For the total issues of greenbacks (\$450,000,000) were less than one-sixth of the total public debt at the end of the war, to say nothing of the sums raised by taxes. The courage of the men who took an understood risk in order to recover the Treasury from the immediate crisis was justified. Their purpose was accomplished, and they cannot be blamed, or praised, because what they devised for an emergency was sought later to be perpetuated by a different set of people for a different purpose. Consistently with their proposal of the legal tenders, the same men later sought the discontinuance of them. Less than four years after he first described to Congress the need of them, Alley introduced a resolution on December 18, 1865, to end their use. This followed his original purpose. Earlier that year the war had ended, and more recently the new Secretary of the Treasury, Hugh McCulloch, had recommended the greenbacks be retired; for his pious and conservative belief was that silver and gold were the only true measures of value and the necessary regulators of trade, having been "prepared by the Almighty for this very purpose." The House, concurring in the advice, adopted Alley's resolution without debate by a vote of 144 to 6. It thereupon changed its mind, apparently becoming convinced suddenly that the greenbacks were a blessing and that instead of there being too much money there was not enough. Those who wished the greenbacks continued still included businessmen; banks found them a welcome form of reserves, and railways found them a convenient means of paying the interest on bonds. Farmers were becoming aware of their advantages, but had not yet conceived them to be the boon they were shortly proclaimed to be.²²

The outstanding account of the legal tender notes has long been Professor Wesley Clair Mitchell's *History of the Greenbacks*, published in 1903. Mitchell was then the young inheritor of a sound money tradition whose former hold on popular loyalty had become much impaired. The first notable defense of it after the war had been an essay by Henry Adams and Francis Walker en-

²² McCulloch, *Men and Measures*, 201; *New York Times*, Oct. 15, 1865; *Congressional Globe*, 39 Cong., 1 sess., 75. The later political history of the greenbacks has been investigated recently by Robert P. Sharkey in his *Money, Class, and Party: An Economic Study of Civil War and Reconstruction* (Baltimore, 1959) and by Irwin Unger in his unpublished dissertation, "Men, Money, and Politics," Columbia University, 1958, and in his "Business Men and Specie Resumption," *Political Science Quarterly*, LXXIV (Mar. 1959), 46.

titled “The Legal Tender Act,” published in 1870 in the *North American Review*, and included two decades later in Henry Adams’ *Historical Essays*. This was one of many works assailing the Greenbackers, but no other was so literary and of so distinguished an authorship. And no other evinced a more confident absolutism.

Of course such absolutism was not new. It had been implicit in Lovejoy’s warning about the yawning chasm the legal tenders would open up before the Republic. It had been explicit in an affirmation by the New York banker and Democrat, James Gallatin, in 1864, of “those principles of finance which,” in his own words, “the experience of my whole life has taught me were as invincible as truth itself, because founded upon truths that had been demonstrated by the experience of everyday life through centuries.” In 1870 Henry Adams and his coauthor commended the vaticinations of both these seers—Lovejoy with honorable mention for his rhetoric and Gallatin the same for his paternity. In jeremiads of their own they called the issue of legal tenders a “catastrophe,” a “calamity,” a “miscarriage the results of which have exceeded in importance any defeat of the national armies or the failure of any campaign” in the Civil War. Of the common assumption that the Legal Tender Act “was necessary and inevitable,” they said “nothing can be less sensible . . . nothing can be feebler.” For “no sound result can be obtained except by assuming at the outset that the Legal Tender Act was not necessary.” Evidence, they declared “is not needed on a point that is self-evident.”²³

Henry Adams, admirer and in time biographer of Albert Gallatin, whose Genevan hard money doctrine he took over as the sincere milk of the word, had in turn a loyal disciple in J. Lawrence Laughlin, who in 1892 went to teach at the new University of Chicago, in the heart of greenback territory. Here, *in partibus infidelium*, Laughlin’s zeal inspired several younger men, among them Wesley Clair Mitchell, to take the cross against the gold standard’s enemies. Something like an apostolic laying on of hands seems to have accompanied the sound money crusade, to which, from the Civil War to the New Deal, scholars lent themselves; and judgments expressed in the historical studies produced in that interval reflect the conventional sound money convictions preached in the current political controversies, but now abandoned by all economists less than one hundred years of age. Then, early in the administration of Franklin Roosevelt, the agitation long opposed by reputable scholars waned, not in defeat but in apotheosis. The stone rejected by the builders became the head of the corner; the substance of what the several varieties of easy money enthusiasts had sought for sixty years—a currency

²³ James Gallatin to Chase, May 5, 1864, Chase Papers, Library of Congress; Adams, *Historical Essays*, 279–81, 296, 300, 309–10.

deriving its value from absolute authority—became law in the Farm Relief Act (May 12, 1933) and the Gold Reserve Act (January 30, 1934). For the reputable, there had been no phenomenon of nature or of history more often demonstrated than the downfall of nations resulting from their abandonment of gold and recourse to fiat or authoritarian money. Yet for some thirty years now the United States and other countries have survived in regimes that once would have seemed “ruinous”; and the cold light thrown off by this fact is less kindly to the scholars than to the Greenbackers whom they scorned.²⁴

Mitchell's *History of the Greenbacks* was strikingly original in its objectivity and factual analysis. Its author proposed to demonstrate calmly, with figures, that instead of being cheap, greenbacks had been costly. He warned of no yawning chasm. In discussing the competence of Thaddeus Stevens, he refrained, unlike Adams, from alluding to a “naked Indian.” He did not ascribe Spaulding's “principles of finance” to experience “in shaving notes at a country bank.” He courteously referred to the “naïveté” and “inconsistency” of the legal tender advocates as “curious” and “interesting.” His manner was novel, and so was his use of statistics. But his assumptions were still those of Lovejoy, of James Gallatin, of Henry Adams. His legislative account urbanely elaborated the old story, and his figures demonstrated what his predecessors had asserted.²⁵

Yet in justice to Mitchell's scholarship and the mature achievements following this first work, one cannot stress too much the fact that the imperfections made apparent after sixty years by changed conditions and changed understanding are not his alone; they are those of a whole generation committed to “truths” and “principles” which, under the pressure of partisanship, had solidified in a “self-evident” condition. They are such as are accountable to every generation, and not the least to our own. Present dispraise, moreover, is limited to what is historiographic and secondary in Mitchell's work. It need not touch the economic analysis which occupies three-quarters of his book, save in respect to his evident belief that the Civil War inflation had its origin in the currency alone, which more recent experience shows, in the words of Paul Studenski and Herman E. Krooss, to be “mistaken.” For there still would have been inflation, “even if greenbacks had not

²⁴ Lester V. Chandler, *Economics of Money and Banking* (New York, 1948), 152–56; Hammond, *Banks and Politics*, 12–17, 29–35. Greenbackers would not have recognized this alleged apotheosis. They would have had the statutes more absolute and administration more radical; for the Treasury still has to hold gold in proportion to the money supply, which comprises bank deposits and currency in circulation, but may release gold only for international transactions, not for domestic. The present arrangement would have suited neither set of doctrinaires whose contentions dominated politics for three decades after the Civil War. The issue is now between easy money and not so easy money.

²⁵ Adams, *Historical Essays*, 283–86; Wesley C. Mitchell, *A History of the Greenbacks* (Chicago, 1903), 49, 66–67, 275–76, 279, 419–20.

been issued and bonds had been sold at whatever price they would bring in the market." And studies by Professor Milton Friedman, in which the currency is but one of several factors considered, indicate that inflation during the Civil War was not remarkable by comparison with what occurred during World Wars I and II.²⁶

Mitchell remarked, with candor but from oversight, that there had been at first no advocacy of the greenbacks such as that of the agrarians later, but he also let it appear quite mistakenly that on the whole bankers had opposed the greenbacks from the first. His account repeatedly presents James Gallatin and his associates as "the" bankers and as "representative," omitting evidence that they were a small minority, omitting mention of the names and importance of those who repudiated them. He was aware that bankers disagreed; he acknowledges, in a footnote, that Chase "was daily receiving letters from business men" urging the need of legal tender notes, but he treats them as negligible. He overlooks such evidence as the regret of the New York *Herald* that the Gallatin group "should volunteer to represent the New York City banks and should bring ridicule upon this community by urging propositions so utterly preposterous" as those they offered in opposing the proposed legal tender notes. He seems to have been beguiled, like Henry Adams, into thinking evidence redundant when the subject is a fundamental and "self-evident" truth. He gives almost all his attention to Spaulding, who as a subcommittee chairman introduced the legal tender bill and who evidently had written it, though as evidently he had not thought of it first nor did he advocate it more competently than others. Alley and Hooper are barely mentioned. One gets no idea of the specific and material reasons given by them for the legal tenders. One gets no idea that the legal tenders were but the subsidiary and temporary element in an otherwise orthodox fiscal program of borrowing and taxing. Instead one gets the impression that the legal tenders were actually in conflict with the major elements of the program and intended to take their place. The predicament of the banks in the absence of a lawful means of payment is not mentioned. Instead the legal tender advocates are shown stressing nothing more substantial than a vague "necessity," quite metaphysical, such as cannot exist so long as any alternative is open. The alternative was for the Treasury to raise money by selling bonds at the market, but Mitchell does not consider the practicability of this alternative, which obviously—as others than those he called "the" bankers

²⁶ Paul Studenski and Herman E. Krooss, *Financial History of the U. S.* (New York, 1952), 147-48; Milton Friedman, "Price, Income, and Monetary Changes in Three Wartime Periods," American Economic Association, *Papers and Proceedings of the 64th Annual Meeting*, Dec. 1951, 612; Chandler, *Economics of Money and Banking*, 115-19.

said—would have depressed the price of bonds already sold and rendered many of their owners insolvent, especially the banks. It would have produced havoc and very little cash. The omission to consider “necessity” in a serious, specific sense as it was repeatedly put in legislative debate, in correspondence, and in the press leads to the false supposition that the men who advocated the issue of legal tender notes in January and February 1862 were lunatic doctrinaires of no experience or practical ability, which is what the monetary Calvinist of 1903 thought they must be. It leads to the supposition also that nothing requiring unusual action confronted the Union in those months. In reality, the crisis was dangerous, largely because governmental powers had remained rudimentary while the economy proliferated. And the worst consequences were escaped through the resourcefulness of some practical men who prodded a greatly bothered Treasury head and a loudly talking Congress into a decision which, whether or not it was metaphysically “necessary,” was in common sense wise and expedient. As a result, a workable program being broached, the desperate need of filling the North’s empty purse ceased to provoke paralysis.²⁷

It seems obvious that the original authorization of legal tender notes in 1862 is a matter to be judged in the light solely of the North’s military and administrative situation at the moment. Its merits and demerits have nothing whatever in common with the subsequent demands of the Greenbackers. Devised in war by one interest for a certain purpose, the notes were seized upon in peace by another interest for another purpose. In both their military and subsequent political stage, however, they are of less importance to the economist than to the historian. Their monetary significance is minor. But historically they illustrate the unpredictability of human interests, the diversion of an idea from its original purpose to one quite different or even conflicting, and the recurring opportunities that criticism has, in the words of George Santayana, to surprise the soul in the arms of convention.

But the greenbacks probably had their greatest significance as factors in the evolution of the state toward omnivorousness. In elevating them from an expedient to a principle and in imputing mystical and absolute powers to sovereignty, the Greenbacker showed himself genuinely radical. Emotions roused by the Civil War, political and moral, disposed him as never before to look to Washington for relief from his grievances, to forsake his Jeffersonian fears of “centralization,” and to foster a Hamiltonian hypertrophy of the state. This trend may make one uncomfortable, it may seem contrary to the expectations of 1787, but being popular it is no doubt ineluctable.

²⁷ Mitchell, *History of the Greenbacks*, 7 n. 1, 48–51, 48 n. 1, 66–68; New York *Herald*, Jan. 14, 1862. Reference to Don C. Barrett’s work, *The Greenbacks and Resumption of Specie Payments* (Cambridge, Mass., 1931), is omitted; it deviates from Mitchell’s only for the worse.

Some Problems in the History of the Vendée

CHARLES TILLY*

THROUGH a species of dialectic, counterrevolutions often reveal the character of the revolutions against which they are directed. Resistance to a revolution may show, more clearly than its apparently unanimous acceptance, which elements of the population are the revolution's propelling force. For this reason, the Vendée, the massive revolt which broke out in the west of France in 1793, is of particular interest to those who wish to understand the French Revolution. Albert Mathiez himself said that the counterrevolution had "the gravest consequences for the further development of the Revolution."¹

Yet much of the traditional history of the Vendée is of little help in understanding the Revolution. Let us leave aside the dramatic military history of the counterrevolution, over which there is not much dispute, and the questions of hagiography, which so easily trip up the wanderer among so many heroes and exploits. These matters, although they probably fill nine-tenths of the mountain of books written on the Vendée, are not very important for the general history of the Revolution. That leaves the perplexing problem of the origins and development of the counterrevolution. Those historians who have faced this problem seriously are a mere handful in the throng who have written accounts of the Vendée, but even they have not found a satisfying solution.²

It is not simply a question of finding a new interpretation of old facts. Much of the essential information is still embedded in the documents of the departmental archives of the west, in a form that only long and tedious research can release. But a recent revival of work on the old regime and the Revolution in the west makes it seem feasible and desirable now to restate the essential questions and to indicate the direction a reinterpretation of the Vendée should take.³ That is the purpose of this paper.

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¹ Albert Mathiez, *La Révolution française* (3 vols., Paris, 1954), II, 201.

² The most solid accounts are all over thirty years old: Léon Dubreuil, *Histoire des insurrections de l'Ouest* (2 vols., Paris, 1929); Émile Gabory, *La Révolution et la Vendée* (3 vols., Paris, 1925); Pierre de la Gorce, *Histoire religieuse de la Révolution française* (5 vols., Paris, 1911-23), III; Célestin Port, *La Vendée angevine* (2 vols., Paris, 1888).

³ Among the recent relevant studies are: Paul Bois, *Paysans de l'Ouest* (Le Mans, 1960); Joseph Denecheau, "La vente des biens nationaux dans le district de Vihiers," *Mémoire pour*

There are three problems that ought to attract our attention: the distinguishing characteristics of those sections of the west in which the counterrevolution flourished; the formation and composition of the two competing parties, revolutionary and counterrevolutionary; the relationship between developments before 1793 and the outbreak of the rebellion. It may be wise to begin by explaining why these problems are important, and why they are difficult.

Why did the counterrevolution occur where it did? The importance of this question seems self-evident. It implies, first, that a sound explanation of the Vendée must also account for the existence of militantly republican areas (such as the Loire Valley, the Poitevin Plain, and the coastal marshes) in the heart of the west and, second, that any successful study of the problem must be a comparative one. Yet despite the obvious character of these remarks, the historians of the Vendée have generally neglected the comparative problem, or given it only languid obeisance in their introductory remarks.⁴ Furthermore, past neglect of the value of precise and detailed comparison has left us with nothing but general impressions, no more reliable for their frequent repetition, on such fundamental questions as the ownership of the land, the material condition of the peasantry, and the sale of Church properties during the early Revolution.

The first element conspicuously absent from the traditional analyses of the Vendée is therefore a detailed and systematic comparison of social organization in the revolutionary and counterrevolutionary sections of the west.

The illusion of unanimity in the counterrevolution has drawn the attention of historians away from the composition and formation of the revolutionary and counterrevolutionary parties within the territory of the rebellion. To be sure, all recent writers have recognized that even in the midst of the Vendée, a number of cities were "patriot" (that is, revolutionary) outposts; they have also noted that the "patriots" were recruited particularly among the bourgeoisie. But we need to know more than that: first of all, about the party divisions outside the cities, for the vision of a countryside uniformly opposed to the Revolution is just as much a mirage as the vision of a Vendée

le Diplôme d'Études Supérieures d'Histoire, Université de Poitiers, 1955; Marcel Faucheux, *Un ancien droit ecclésiastique perçu en Bas-Poitou: Le boisselage* (La Roche-sur-Yon, 1953); Louis Merle, *La métairie et l'évolution agraire de la Gâtine poitevine de la fin du moyen âge à la Révolution* (Paris, 1958); Charles Tilly, "The Social Background of the Rebellion of 1793 in Southern Anjou," doctoral dissertation, Harvard University, 1958.

⁴It was only by this sort of negligence that Dubreuil could attribute a crucial role in the fomentation of the counterrevolution to the influence of the bishops of the west over the lower clergy, and via the lower clergy over the general population, when the populations and the priests of each of the dioceses most directly involved—those of Angers, Luçon, Nantes, and La Rochelle—were sharply divided into revolutionary and counterrevolutionary territories. Dubreuil, *Histoire des insurrections de l'Ouest*, esp. I, 39–45.

without patriot cities. Then, it is clearly necessary to specify who were the activists on both sides, to deal separately with the positions of peasants, artisans, various types of bourgeois. Finally, we need to know how and when the parties formed. The answers to these essential questions lie in the forbidding, but finally rewarding, analysis of innumerable apparently petty events of the years before 1793.

A satisfactory solution to these first two sets of problems would leave still pending the analysis of the events that led directly to the outbreak of the counterrevolution. Historians of the Vendée have generally assigned each of the major groups—for example, clergy, bourgeois, and peasants—a unitary attitude. They have then pictured “outside” events such as the sale of Church properties or the death of the King as revealing, activating, or at times modifying the expression of these unitary attitudes. To some extent this form of simplification is necessary both as a dramatic device and as an economical summary of the facts. But in using this too convenient form of analysis, Émile Gabory, Pierre de la Gorce, Léon Dubreuil, and the other writers on the Vendée have identified their social categories too carelessly (confusing, for example, peasants and artisans), assigned them positions and motives with insufficient evidence, and said very little about the relations among the members of the various categories in the years before the counterrevolution. As a result, the available accounts do not show how the fundamental events of the Revolution affected their solidarity or hostility in the country communes that eventually revolted.

We may conclude that solving the puzzle of the Vendée is more complicated than a simple choice between the formulas now available: the far-flung noble plot, the agitation of the clergy, the “royalism” of the region, the defense of the clergy by the common people, the distaste of peasants for military service.

In fact, the bankruptcy of these “solutions” should be a sufficient warning against investing all in any sonorous slogan. In commenting on each of the three major problems already outlined, I shall suggest some less engaging, more ponderous, perhaps more honest, ways of dealing with them. The themes of the commentary will be: that there was a basic difference in social organization between the revolutionary and counterrevolutionary areas; that within the territory of the counterrevolution, party divisions followed identifiable lines of class and locality; that the revolt of 1793 was the culmination of a long and bitter series of combats between a small revolutionary party, essentially drawn from the mercantile bourgeoisie, which had assumed control of the political apparatus, and a larger, more disparate, counterrevolu-

tionary party. In presenting these themes, I shall draw particularly on developments in Anjou, south of the Loire, the heartland of the insurrection.⁵

The counterrevolution was a creature of the *bocage*, the granite-based mass of land south of the Loire, which is settled in relatively dispersed hamlets and isolated farms and is covered with small fields surrounded by high hedgerows. The Revolution was generally successful in the areas of river valley and plain, with their concentrated settlements and open fields. This observation in itself is commonplace. What is important is that the differences in habitat were accompanied by differences in the positions of the major social classes.

The *bocage* enclosed a considerable number of nobles, frequently resident, who owned most of the land exploited by the peasants, while in valley and plain the nobles were much more frequently weak and absent.⁶ The peasants of the *bocage* were mainly subsistence farmers, living on medium-sized rented or share-cropped family farms, selling enough cattle to cover rents, taxes, and little more. The principal intermediary between peasant community and outside world was the curé.

Valley and plain included large ecclesiastical properties as well as considerable bourgeois and peasant holdings, often extremely fractionated. Along the Loire the rich lands of such abbeys as Fontevault and St. Florent often adjoined the plots of *bêcheurs* and *laboureurs à bras*—peasants with holdings small and fruitful enough to be worked profitably by a man with a spade and his own two arms, instead of by a great team of six, eight, or even ten oxen, as in the *bocage*. The crops of these areas were often specialized and destined for urban markets: wine, wheat, flax, hemp. Their producers included a much larger proportion of day laborers and of owners of small pieces of land than in the *bocage*. This summarizes the agricultural complex.

⁵ The following conclusions are based mainly on the documents of the departmental archives of Maine-et-Loire, but also on those of other departmental archives of western France and of the Archives Nationales. The generalizations of this paper are meant for the section south of the Loire that joined the great rebellion of March 1793 and not necessarily for the areas of *Chouannerie*—persistent harassment of the patriots by small bands of raiders, without open and general warfare—north of the Loire. *Chouannerie* raises a whole new set of problems, to the solution of which the recent thesis of Bois (*Paysans de l'Ouest*) has made a significant contribution.

⁶ R. H. Andrews, *Les paysans des Mauges au xviii^e siècle* (Tours, 1935); Marcel Garaud, "Le régime agraire et les paysans de Gâtine au xviii^e siècle," *Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest*, 4th ser., II (2d trim., 1954), 643–82; J. Levainville, "Les Mauges: Notes de géographie humaine," *Annales de géographie*, XIV (1905), 310–17; Merle, *Métairie et l'évolution*; Louis Poirier, "Bocage et Plaine dans le Sud de l'Anjou," *Annales de géographie*, XLIII (1934), 22–31; Henri Sée, "L'économie rurale de l'Anjou dans la première moitié du xix^e siècle," *Revue d'histoire économique et sociale*, XV (No. 1, 1927), 104–22; André Siegfried, "Le régime et la division de la propriété dans le Maine et l'Anjou," *Annales du musée social* (No. 18, 1911), 195–215. Bois's solid and devastating re-examination of Siegfried's conclusions concerning the Sarthe (*Paysans de l'Ouest*, esp. 61–98) is an eloquent warning that Siegfried's observations of the areas south of the Loire need verification and that nothing could be more welcome than a careful and comprehensive study of property ownership and control in the whole region.

There was also an industrial complex, and the surprising fact is that industry was more developed in the *bocage*, at least in those sections that joined most actively in the counterrevolution. By far the most important was the textile industry, called the manufacture of Cholet, but actually scattered among more than ten thousand looms in a wide territory around that city. In the perspective of France as a whole, or even of the west, the manufacture of Cholet was of secondary importance. In the area of the rebellion there was, nevertheless, a growing class of merchants and clothiers, and in a great many communes weavers comprised 20 per cent of the working population. The features of this domestic production of kerchiefs and colored cloth that make it interesting for the present discussion are that it drew much of its raw material from outside the *bocage*, particularly from the Loire Valley, and that it placed its finished products on a national and world market, particularly via the port of Nantes. This means that in the *bocage* there was a small but prospering group of merchants who had relatively little to do with the local peasants, but much to do with both the local weavers and their colleagues outside the *bocage*. It also means that the cities, small as they were, were devoted to a commerce that drew their interests far outside the region.

This rapid summary indicates the essentials of the contrast: the plain and valley, combining peasant proprietors and day laborers who produced for outside markets, a relatively strong bourgeoisie, and extensive ecclesiastical properties; the *bocage*, populated with subsistence farmers dependent on noble landlords, a parish clergy with a strong hand in local affairs, a growing semi-rural proletariat attached to the textile industry, and a small but rising mercantile bourgeoisie. These facts alone would probably permit us to predict that the bourgeois would have an easier time developing a following and encouraging support for the Revolution in the first set of areas, and would meet greater resistance from nobles and clergy and receive less support from the rest of the population in the *bocage*.

It is essential to notice that the contrast between the two sections of the west, "blue" and "white," revolutionary and counterrevolutionary, existed long before the Revolution and persisted long after it. Religious practice and political preference have followed the same frontiers well into the twentieth century.⁷ An adequate analysis of the counterrevolution must therefore provide an understanding both of the temporary circumstances that agitated the

⁷ See Joseph Denecheau, "Les élections de 1869 dans le département de Maine-et-Loire," unpublished *Mémoire complémentaire*, Université de Poitiers, 1958; Marcel Faucheux, "Les élections de 1869 en Vendée," *Bibliothèque de la Révolution de 1848*, XXI (1959), 127-62; Gabriel Le Bras, *Études de sociologie religieuse* (2 vols., Paris, 1955-56), I, esp. 306; Abel Châtelain, "Évolution des densités de population en Anjou (1806-1936)," *Revue de géographie de Lyon*, XXXI (No. 1, 1956), 43-60; André Siegfried, *Tableau politique de la France de l'Ouest sous la Troisième République* (Paris, 1913).

west in 1793 and of the enduring characteristics of those sections that joined the rebellion.

The parties of *patriotes* and *aristocrates* formed early in the Revolution, although it is not yet clear how widespread identification with one or the other was before the first applications of the Civil Constitution of the Clergy and the first sales of Church property, both early in 1791. These constituted the first deep thrusts of the Revolution into the heart of the countryside and were, therefore, the first occasions on which many countrymen had to declare their positions publicly. From that time on, what there was of a third party was inexorably ground to dust between the turning stones of revolution and counterrevolution.⁸

The great majority of the clergy, particularly the secular clergy, belonged to the counterrevolutionary party. This may seem quite normal, until we recognize that it set off the *bocage* distinctly from the surrounding area. The most convenient indication is the oath aligning the clergy with the Civil Constitution, generally administered at the beginning of 1791. In the districts where the rebellion arose, the proportion of the clergy taking the oath was under 15 per cent, while in the surrounding "patriot" districts, it was generally well over 50 per cent.⁹ In fact, the constitutional clergy who were brought in to replace those who had refused the oath were commonly curates and monks from the districts outside the *bocage*.

Nobles of the region were even more uniformly opposed to the Revolution. Despite the common supposition that the nobles agitated and even organized the rebellion, however, they were very little in evidence in the party conflicts of 1791 and 1792. A number of the great nobles who were to be counterrevolutionary chiefs, such as Henri de la Rochejaquelein and Artus de Bonchamp, were with the King until late in 1792, many more

⁸ The available evidence on party alignments is varied: a considerable number of reports on local affairs by communal and district officials, commonly submitted after some dispute over the application of revolutionary changes in the commune, and particularly dealing with the two groups of priests, those who had accepted the Civil Constitution and those who had not, the Constitutionals and the Refractories; the records of communal, cantonal, and district elections from 1789 to 1793, including the lists of officeholders and protestations concerning the manner in which they were elected; the records of the organization and recruitment of the National Guard and of the departmental battalions of volunteers; reports on counterrevolutionary manifestations and attacks on patriots before 1793. From the period of the counterrevolution itself, we have: a number of local and regional compilations of the names of participants in the rebellion, drawn particularly from the interrogations of refugees and prisoners; registers of refugees from the rebellion, such as a "liste des bons patriotes de St. Macaire" prepared to facilitate the return of the Republic to a commune near Cholet at the end of the great war of 1793. Archives D(épartementales de) Maine-et-Loire, I L 1159.

⁹ Charles Tilly, "Civil Constitution and Counter-Revolution in Southern Anjou," *French Historical Studies*, I (No. 2, 1959), 172-99.

nobles had emigrated long before the counterrevolution, and the rest had retired to their châteaux without meddling much in local affairs.

According to the paradoxical terminology of the time, the bulk of the peasants of the *bocage* were "aristocrats," opponents of the Revolution. Here again is a remarkable contrast with the surrounding territories, where the peasants formed revolutionary clubs, bought Church properties, and gave all the other usual signs of support for the Revolution.

The bourgeois, particularly merchants, clothiers, and others involved in commerce and industry, were the heart of the patriots. In southern Anjou, we find *négociants* and *marchands* everywhere in the lists of local office-holders and of purchasers of Church properties on the counterrevolutionary side of the line, while in the patriot country near Saumur, we find rather more lawyers, administrators, and substantial farmers. In many parts of the *bocage* the few bourgeois were the only adherents of the Revolution.

Artisans are at once the most troublesome and the most interesting category. The auxiliary artisans (those who rendered services to the agricultural population, as did shoemakers, smiths, masons, or potters) resembled the peasants in political behavior. But the industrial artisans (weavers, spinners, and dyers) are another problem. Part of the problem is a simple matter of identification, since the most prosperous master weavers are practically indistinguishable from the poorer merchants, while the poorest rarely appear in the available documents. The more serious complication is that weavers and their confreres appeared on both sides of the party line between 1789 and 1793. On the one hand, it is evident that where there were many artisans, there were patriot strongholds. Cholet, Chemillé, Mortagne, and Bressuire are cases in point. Furthermore, a large proportion of the local National Guard companies and of the volunteers from the *bocage* were artisans.¹⁰ This much is evidence of alignment with the patriots. On the other hand, a very large share of the leaders of demonstrations against the patriots in 1791 and 1792, and an exceptional number of local chiefs of the insurrection itself in 1793, were also artisans, for reasons which are now examined.

It is important to note that the textile industry of the *bocage*, after decades of energetic growth, began to falter just about the beginning of the Revolution. No one has paid much attention to this local crisis (while the pains that the textile industry of France as a whole was suffering in the same period are well known). Therefore no one has traced its probable connection with the origins of the counterrevolution. The first signs appear in local reports for 1788; at the end of that year the merchants complained that business was

¹⁰ A D Maine-et-Loire I L 566¹⁸ ff.

falling off.¹¹ According to the accounts of the most important government bureau, at Cholet, production was down 25 per cent in 1789. By 1790 a report from Vihiers left no doubt of the gravity of the situation:

One can see from this account of the present state of the manufacturing and commerce of Vihiers how much they have fallen and continue to decline. This failure strikes the poorest class of people, the workers of the countryside, who are out of work and lack the resources to live and support their families.¹²

In the responses of the communes of Anjou to the 1790 questionnaire of the *Comité de Mendicité* of the *Constituante*, it was precisely those communes and cantons where weaving had flourished that reported the highest proportions of individuals needing assistance. These localities unanimously blamed the recent debacle of cloth and kerchief manufacturing in terms like those of the report from the commune of Andrezé:

We should observe that Cholet's commerce has fallen off entirely, so far as cloths and kerchiefs, which supported all the people of our *bourgs*, are concerned; the greater number have been out of work for two years, and reduced to begging, this causes many revolts over the movement of grains [out of the territory].¹³

Artisan discontent with this situation broke out in demonstrations against the bourgeois of Chemillé, Trémentines, and other textile centers. In fact, in the district of Cholet—the cradle alike of the textile industry, of resistance to the Revolution before 1793, and of the counterrevolution itself—every locality that reported more than a quarter of its population needing assistance in 1790 was the scene of at least one “insurrection,” and a center of exceptional agitation, between then and the counterrevolution.¹⁴ It is therefore not entirely unreasonable to entertain the hypothesis that the industrial artisans were the most discontented class of the *bocage* during the early Revolution, that they expressed their discontent in exceptional political activity, that although at the beginning many of them cast their lot with the Revolution, the fact that the Revolution did much for the merchants and very little for them eventually encouraged a sizable number of them to turn bitterly to the opposition. The virtual absence of industrial artisans in the valley and plain meant that this type of unemployment could not have the same divisive effects in the revolutionary sections of the west as in the counterrevolutionary country of the *bocage*.

This description of party divisions in the *bocage* has one implication that

¹¹ A D Indre-et-Loire C 135.

¹² A D Maine-et-Loire I L 546.

¹³ *Ibid.*, I L 402.

¹⁴ That is, the communes of Chemillé, St. Pierre de Chemillé, Vezins, Mazières, Maulévrier, and St. Macaire.

has remained unrecognized too long: the division between *patriote* and *aristocrate* reached into the interior of every locality of the area that joined the counterrevolution. The Revolution made itself felt through the presence of small patriot cities and of a nucleus of patriots in almost every parish of the *bocage*.

As one might expect, it was particularly the cities, centers of trade and industry (such as Montaigu and Cholet), rather than strongholds of the nobility (such as Beaupréau and Châtillon), that breathed patriotic fire. It was the bourgeois of Cholet who were able to report in 1790 that "public spirit [that is, support of the Revolution] has undeniably made more progress here than in any of the surrounding parishes and cities."¹⁵ For this, they themselves doubtless deserved most of the credit.

But it was not just a matter of the scattering of cities, with their spirited patriots and National Guards, through the *bocage*. To understand the ecology of counterrevolution in the Vendean countryside, one must avoid the image of concentrated peasant villages surrounded by fields and substitute for it a picture of a rural community composed of a central settlement, the bourg, usually containing less than half the population, with the rest of the population distributed through tiny villages, hamlets of two or three dwellings, and isolated farms. The bourg's size and importance varied with the amount of commercial and manufacturing activity in the commune, but in every commune the homes and activities of the bourgeois and the artisans were concentrated there. The bourg was the last outpost of the Revolution.

The effect of this arrangement was to divide almost every commune of the *bocage* socially and physically, to make the confrontation and conflict of the two parties an everyday matter, and to heighten the sense of encirclement and desperation of the country patriots. For they, in contrast with their urban comrades, were in direct, constant contact with their political enemies and were frequently the weaker party. The bourgeois of the small cities and bourgs, surrounded by inimical countrymen, beat the patriotic drums all the more loudly, to keep their enemy at a distance and, perhaps, to fortify their own sense of purpose and solidarity. As a result, much of the local history of the early Revolution in the *bocage* is of the clash between country and city and between bourg and hinterland, of the attempt of a small, weak, yet articulate and officially dominant group of urban bourgeois to bring the great changes of 1789 and 1790 to a recalcitrant countryside. Far from being the unanimous voice of an undivided region against an external enemy, the counterrevolution was a cry of vengeance against the enemy within.

¹⁵ Archives Nationales D^{1V} b1^a 67.

Two general observations clarify the tumultuous history of the early Revolution in the *bocage*: the bourgeoisie acquired political power, to the virtual exclusion of all other classes; the dominant fact of the period was a series of conflicts between parties already fairly well defined by early in 1791, a series of which the counterrevolution was the most vicious episode.

The vocabulary of class conflict should not obscure the fact that the immediate issue was rather more political than economic. The rising bourgeois of the *bocage* found themselves in a country where they had little influence over the peasantry, intensely religious, dominated by its curés, where it was usual to say that the priest "governed" his parish. In fact, an extraordinary number of curés of the *bocage* became mayors of their communes at the first elections, in 1790.¹⁶ The bourgeois sought to displace the parish priest of the *bocage* from the political position he had already lost peaceably and imperceptibly, over a long period of time, in the other sections of the west.

The bourgeois won a temporary victory. The Civil Constitution of the Clergy, enacted by the *Constituante* during 1790 and put into motion in the west early in 1791, essentially transformed the parish priest into a civil servant, into an employee of the local political authorities. Indeed, the fact that they had much more to lose, and could count more surely on the support of their parishioners, largely accounts for the greater rate of rejection of the Civil Constitution by the priests of the *bocage* than by those of valley and plain. For the curés of the *bocage*, the oath solicited in January 1791 was not only a question of conscience, but also a question of capitulation to the local bourgeoisie. But the bourgeoisie, backed by the armed force of the nation, succeeded in forcing many of the curés into hiding and the rest into exile and in substituting for them more cooperative priests from elsewhere who had taken the oath.

At the same time, the bourgeois were taking over the political offices offered by the Revolution. It is no news that the clergy were out of office after 1790, since rejection of the oath automatically disqualified the priests. The remarkable feature of the political changes between 1789 and 1792 is the displacement of the peasants by the bourgeoisie. If we compare the deputies to the provincial assemblies for the Estates General of 1789 with the cantonal electors of 1790-1792 in two districts of Anjou, the one (Cholet) the very center of the counterrevolution and the other (Saumur) a solidly revolutionary territory, we find the following situation:¹⁷

¹⁶ See the reports in *ibid.*, D^{IV}2.

¹⁷ Compiled mainly from election minutes, AD Maine-et-Loire II B 1320-21, I L 321-24; F. Uzureau, "Les élections du Tiers-État et la Sénéchaussée d'Angers (1789)," *Anjou historique*, III (1903), 134-58; *id.*, "Les élections des administrateurs du district de Saumur (1790)," *ibid.*, XV (1915), 470-84; *id.*, "Les élections des administrateurs du district de Cholet (1790)," *ibid.*,

Cholet				Saumur			
Year	Bourgeois	Peasant	Other	Year	Bourgeois	Peasant	Other
1789	57%	38%	5%	1789	62%	28%	10%
1790	64%	22%	14%	1790	88%	9%	3%
1791	80%	4%	16%	1791	89%	—	11%
1792	77%	14%	9%	1792	82%	4%	14%

It would be impetuous to generalize from this one comparison, but it will serve to suggest that the Revolution brought the bourgeois the political positions they desired, and it did so more rapidly in the revolutionary areas than in the counterrevolutionary ones.

Paul Bois, in noticing the decline of the rural electorate, has interpreted these changes as a sign of peasant apathy.¹⁸ The election records, however, indicate that at first the two parties struggled for control of the political machinery and that the later withdrawal of the peasants was more in protest than in disinterest. Two features of the law favored the departure of all *aristocrats* from all electoral assemblies after 1790: the necessity of being signed up for the National Guard and the requirement of a civic oath. The first was believed to align the citizen with the agents of the Revolution, and the second to signify public acceptance of the Civil Constitution of the Clergy. The year 1791, however, witnessed both the organization of "counterrevolutionary" National Guard companies, who dispensed with the civic oath, as at St. Pierre-de-Chemillé, and electoral assemblies at which the oath was unceremoniously omitted, as at Jallais.¹⁹ In the latter case, some of the citizens later complained that "at the time of the primary assembly, insidious maneuvers convinced them by taking the oath required before the naming of electors, they would be renouncing their religion [and] the greater number, misled, refused it. . . ."²⁰ Most of them apparently remained "misled," since of the twenty-seven who ventured out to the cantonal elections of 1792 (as opposed to over one hundred at the 1791 assembly), ten withdrew when the chairman demanded the individual rendering of the oath. By that time, in Jallais as in most other places in the *bocage*, only the patriots were left.

The cantonal elections have received considerable attention because they

XXX (1930), 87-90. The occupational information in the election records is fragmentary, and even after extensive searching in other documents for information on the individuals named, I have had to exclude from these calculations 155 of 412 officeholders in the district of Saumur, and 65 of 299 in the district of Cholet, who remain unidentified by occupation or class. It would be quite possible and quite rewarding, although depressingly time-consuming, to prepare the same kinds of statistics for communal offices.

¹⁸ Bois, *Paysans de l'Ouest*, 261-91.

¹⁹ AD Maine-et-Loire I L 568, I L 323, I L 324.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, I L 323.

involved enough people to make some summary statistics feasible and because they named the men who would in turn elect the district and department officials. At the level of district and department, and to a lesser extent at the level of the individual commune, the same eventual dominance by bourgeois patriots took place. The disappearance of the rest of the population from these offices was encouraged by simple unwillingness to do the work of the Revolution, as testifies the frequency with which municipal officers resigned when they were called on to install the constitutional curé.²¹

There is one crucial element to add to this description: the loss of effective control of the population. As the patriots assumed control of local offices, they discovered they did not have the means to do the work of the Revolution. They met passive resistance everywhere, were unable to collect taxes, quell disturbances, protect the constitutional curés. The use of their most powerful weapon, the calling in of the National Guard of one of the region's cities, served in the long run to estrange them further from the populations they were supposed to govern. In this context one can appreciate the plaint of the four patriot municipal officers of St. Lambert-du-Lattay in July 1791. After the "aristocratic" faction had withdrawn its participation in communal affairs:

No matter what comes up, only the four writers are there to handle the parish business. Just imagine how much fear or respect is given them. People never stop insulting our curé. We would like to put him under the protection of the law but we cannot. We ask, you, gentlemen, can 12 patriots stand up to 800 aristocrats?²²

Small wonder, then, that the patriots of the little bourgs of the Vendée, with a growing sense of isolation and despair, turned to their urban allies for aid, and by doing so widened the chasm between the parties. They hated and feared each other as only feuding neighbors can.

The account I have given should make clear that the party conflict that eventuated in the struggle of 1793 began long before that "spontaneous" revolt, that it was the irritating presence of the enemy in almost every bourg that gave the conflict much of its bitterness, and that the most important public issue separating the parties was—as it was for a century after the Revolution—the relationship of Church and state. It was at the nearly simultaneous application of the Civil Constitution of the Clergy and sale of Church properties that neutrality became impossible. There is no real distinction between the categories of patriots, supporters of the constitutional clergy, and

²¹ See the November 1791 report of the *directoire* of Vendée in Charles-Louis Chassin, *La préparation de la guerre de Vendée* (3 vols., Paris, 1892), II, 120.

²² AD Maine-et-Loire I L 349.

purchasers of Church properties. In the *bocage* they were the same group, their core the merchants of the cities and largest bourgs. Outside the *bocage* few citizens were forced to make a politically significant choice between the old clergy and the new, and a wide range of the population, including peasants, bought Church properties.

It is true that the usual paltry properties of the *bocage* curé were less tempting than the extensive lands of the religious establishments in the surrounding plains and valleys. Possibly the sentiment of many peasants toward the purchasers was less moral indignation than envy and disappointment, for some peasants did buy during the first few weeks of the sales. In the area that later joined the counterrevolution, nevertheless, the purchase of Church properties was an almost certain sign of alignment with the patriot party.

From that point on, the threat of counterrevolution grew. Most of the conflicts between *patriotes* and *aristocrates* before 1793 were limited in scope and consequences, but there were enough of them, and a sufficient number involving violence or threats of violence to indicate that the matter was serious. In the coastal Vendée alone, for example, in the short period from mid-April to mid-May 1791 there were armed demonstrations against the patriots at Challans, St. Gilles, Palluau, Apremont, St. Jean-des-Monts, Mache-coul, and St. Christophe-du-Ligneron.²³ Toward the end of the same year the great processions and pilgrimages that had started as fairly peaceful affirmations of attachment to the old religious order grew much more warlike, becoming occasions for threats and imprecations against the local patriots, and for the display of crude but ominous weapons. The most serious example of the violent encounters between patriots and their enemies that anticipated the counterrevolution was the attack on Châtillon and Bressuire in August 1792, which may have involved as many as six thousand rebels, and left several hundred dead.

In this setting, the violent resistance of the Vendée to conscription in March 1793 is not too difficult to understand. No doubt the boys of the *bocage* did not like the idea of military service, but that fact hardly distinguished them from the youth of the surrounding regions, where the draft proceeded peacefully. It was the first time that the patriots had tried to impose a drastic and unpopular measure on the whole countryside simultaneously; even the deportation of the clergy had been partial, had operated in irregular stages, and had depended on the cooperation of the priests themselves. This time the fragments of the counterrevolutionary party were able to coalesce.

²³ Archives Nationales D^{XXIX} 15; Chassin, *Préparation de la guerre*, I, 245 ff.

Furthermore, the law essentially exempted the patriots by excusing public officials and mobilizing the National Guard "in place." In the *bocage* this meant that only the *aristocrates* were eligible. Nothing could have more effectively brought into the open the cleavage between the parties. The people called for the buyers of Church properties and the chiefs of the National Guard to go first; near Tigny a gang of young men "went to Coquin's inn to drink, and the idea there was that if they let recruitment go on the patriots would have the upper hand and the aristocrats would be *foutu*, and if they took thirty-five today they would take as many more a month from now. . . ." ²⁴ In short, this was the latest and gravest of the series of conflicts between the patriots and aristocrats of the Vendée.

One last observation reinforces the impression of continuity between the party battles of 1791-1792 and the outbreak of the counterrevolution. The first violent events of the counterrevolution were demonstrations by countrymen who disarmed the patriots of their bourgs and then proceeded to do the same to the patriots of the nearest city; events at Cholet, Machecoul, Montaigu, and St. Florent fit this pattern. The first "battles" of the counterrevolution were actually massive but haphazard forays by country people into the patriot bourgs and cities of the Vendée, their prime targets the homes and headquarters of the bourgeois.

Nowhere in this essay will the reader find the old theme of royalism as a "motive" for the Vendée; nor will he find religion in the abstract. This is not to say that the peasants and artisans who rose in March 1793 were indifferent to questions of politics and religion. On the contrary, they cursed the republicans and hailed the *bons prêtres* with ferocious energy. But the unity of the counterrevolutionaries at the beginning of their adventure was rather in opposition to the regional and local patriot minority than in either a common ideology or a theoretical opposition to the Revolution in general. The ideology of the "Catholic and Royal Army" emerged from the stress of battle and from the need of the combatants to explain to themselves and to others what they were doing. It is therefore risky to take the rebels' own later pronouncements for explanations of the counterrevolution.

The strategic questions to ask and answer are not, in fact, doctrinal. They are basically sociological: the special features of the counterrevolutionary areas, the composition of the parties, the conditions that permitted violent opposition to the patriots to develop. Firm answers to questions of this nature require the long, tedious, systematic, even statistical, analysis of masses of

²⁴ AD Maine-et-Loire I L 1018.

documents. But we may anticipate the conclusions of that essential research in at least these respects: the enduring difference in social organization between the revolutionary and counterrevolutionary areas of the west, the Revolution succeeding only where commercial and urban influence, and therefore bourgeois power, had advanced as it had elsewhere in France; the existence of a large number of small, irritating, local patriot parties, limited primarily to the mercantile bourgeoisie; the progressive embitterment of relations between the two contending parties, to the point of violent counterrevolution in 1793.

Myths of the "Little England" Era

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AN appropriate motto for the student of British imperial history might be *caveat emptor*, for nowhere is there more widespread use of labels that delude rather than describe. Of the considerable mass of published work from Sir John Seeley's day to this on the anatomy of imperialism much has rested on the work of a previous "authority" whose study was also derivative. Age has sanctified generalizations which, upon close analysis, have proved to be exaggerated, undocumented, or untrue. This perpetuation of half-truths and falsehoods is evident in interpretations of the middle quarters of the nineteenth century, conventionally called the "Little England" era.

The years between Waterloo and the 1870's are frequently portrayed as a time when mercantilism died a lingering death, to be succeeded by a free-trade era which was dominated by a merchant-industrialist aristocracy dedicated to efficiency and *laissez faire*. These new interests regarded with repugnance the anachronism of an empire sustained before 1849 by a system of preferential customs duties, and, before and after the repeal of the Navigation Acts, protected by troops paid by British taxpayers. The logical consequence of British industrial supremacy was the withdrawal of all financial support for the colonies, since the Empire no longer provided significant economic advantages. If the corollary of colonial self-support was secession, so much the better. Sir George Cornewall Lewis in 1841 wrote in his *Essay on the Government of Dependencies*, "If a dominant country understood the true nature of the advantages arising from the relation of supremacy and dependence to the related communities, it would voluntarily recognize the legal independence of such of its own dependencies as were fit for independence; it would, by its political arrangements, study to prepare for independence those which were still unable to stand alone."¹ Those who held such views were "Little Englanders" or "Separationists," and "for thirty years after 1840 this opinion, though with variations, was widely held in England, not merely by academic theorists, but by leading statesmen like Gladstone and Granville, and by most of the officials responsible for the execution of colonial policy."²

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¹George Cornewall Lewis, *Essay on the Government of Dependencies*, ed. C. P. Lucas (Oxford, Eng., 1891), 324.

²H. J. Habakkuk, "Free Trade and Commercial Expansion, 1853-1870," in *Cambridge*

Sooty Manchester had conquered Britain, and governments did its bidding. Free trade, laissez faire, and low taxes all dictated an end to the maintenance of empire.

Yet in an era of antiannexation the Empire continued to grow in India and elsewhere, and the colonies of settlement chose to remain within the imperial framework. The paradox is conventionally resolved by the explanation that most "Little Englanders" excluded India from the scope of their argument and that other aberrations were caused by the actions of private individuals who defied government policy, as for example in New Zealand, or by the aggressiveness of governors who in their zeal for colonial security or in pursuit of glory violated the spirit or the letter of their instructions.

This conception of British policy in the mid-nineteenth century, like all distortions, contains an element of truth. Certainly some writers insisted that the Empire was an expensive anachronism, and some statesmen in moments of petulance—likely to be produced by an expensive and unproductive colonial war—might exclaim that the colonies were "a millstone round our necks." But no responsible statesman during the "Little England" era embraced the view that separation of the colonies from Britain was a desirable prospect. Significantly, the label of "Little Englanders" was applied by politicians to opponents, not to themselves or friends. In the words of C. R. Fay, "Every reflecting man from the Tories of the right to the Radicals of the left realised in 1853, as in 1828, the ineluctable truth of [William] Huskisson's memorable words 'England cannot afford to be little. She must be what she is, or nothing.'"³

Lord John Russell wrote to his Secretary of State for Colonies, Earl Grey, in 1849:

As to Colonial Reform, as it is called, I am much in favour of it, but not of Cobden's reform—which wd. be a dissolution of the connection. Even in his own narrow view I wonder he does not see that the imposition of a duty of from 30 to 40 per ct on British manufactured goods from the Mississippi to the St. Lawrence wd. be a great blow to Manchester & Leeds. We must endeavour to make clear to our own minds what are the benefits w^{ch} remain to us from the Col^d connection, free trade being taken for granted. . . .⁴

It was the "true interest" of Great Britain to maintain colonies,⁵ Grey

History of the British Empire [hereafter cited as *CHBE*] (Cambridge, Eng., 1940), II, 751. See also C. A. Bodelsen, *Studies in Mid-Victorian Imperialism* (New York, 1925), which has often been cited as an authority by writers on British imperial policy.

³ Huskisson's "Speech on the Civil Government of Canada, May 2, 1828," quoted by C. R. Fay, "The Movement Towards Free Trade," in *CHBE*, II, 414.

⁴ Russell to Grey, Aug. 19, 1849, in Grey of Howick Papers, University of Durham [hereafter cited as Grey Papers]. Copy in Russell Papers, PRO 30/22/8, Public Record Office [hereafter cited as PRO].

⁵ Grey to Russell, Aug. 23, 1849, *ibid*.

contended, and the president of the Board of Trade, Henry Labouchere,⁶ agreed, as did other members of the cabinet. But the objects of their attacks were at pains to disclaim the intentions attributed to them. Richard Cobden, who was usually singled out as being the high priest of "Little England," rejected such doctrines, though his words, particularly when taken out of context, could support the contention that he wished Britain to rid itself of colonies. In 1850 he stated that "the independence of the British Colonies is the best condition under which they can work out their own destinies." But he hastened to add, "their severance from the country of their origin would be an evil," and he suggested imperial federation as a possible means of reconciling freedom and unity.⁷ On another occasion, during a debate on the sugar bill in the House of Commons, he declared:

... he was not opposed to the retention of colonies any more than hon. Gentlemen opposite. He was as anxious as any one that the English race should spread itself over the earth; and he believed that colonization, under a proper system of management, might be made as conducive to the interests of the mother country as to the emigrants themselves. But he also believed that the system upon which our colonial affairs were now conducted was one of unmixed evil, injustice, and loss to the people of this country.⁸

Cobden, like the "Manchester School" of which he was frequently a spokesman,⁹ did not express a consistent philosophy with regard to imperial policy. He was relatively unconcerned with the problems of Britain's relationships with colonies except regarding their economic implications. His great causes of free trade and peace involved certain corollaries in his views on empire, but on the British Empire as such he was uninformed. His emphasis on colonies varied from time to time depending on specific circumstances. On public occasions he often insisted that he was an enlightened imperialist. At Manchester in 1849 he said: "People tell me I want to abandon our colonies; but I say, do you intend to hold your colonies by the sword, by armies, and ships of war? That is not a permanent hold upon them. I want to retain them by their affections. . . ."¹⁰

But in private correspondence, Cobden sometimes sounded suspiciously like a Separationist, as in the following comment to Edward (Bear) Ellice in 1856:

⁶ "I value the Colonies & wish to keep them as long as it is good for them & ourselves that we should remain united, & believe that may be done by frank language & direct policy to ensure this." [1849], *ibid.*

⁷ James E. Thorold Rogers, *Cobden and Modern Political Opinion* (London, 1873), 258.

⁸ Speech on June 22, 1843, *Parliamentary Debates*, 3d ser., LXX, col. 205.

⁹ The characteristics of the "Manchester School" are also frequently misrepresented. See William D. Grampp, *The Manchester School of Economics* (Stanford, Calif., 1960).

¹⁰ Cobden to Edward Ellice, May 29, 1856, private, Ellice Papers, National Library of Scotland; microfilm copy in Library, University of California, Los Angeles, reel 37.

The idea of defending, as integral parts of our Empire, countries 10,000 miles off, like Australia, which neither pay a shilling to our revenue (to satisfy the Colonial views of Lord North) nor afford us any exclusive trade (to fulfil the demands of Lord Chatham) is about as quixotic a specimen of national folly as was ever exhibited. But I check myself—I am in a serious mood, & am talking common sense, which is utterly inapplicable to the politics of 1856.¹¹

This statement is revealing not only of Cobden's views on the Empire but his assessment of British opinion. While he bemoaned the drain which colonies imposed on British resources, he admitted that his rational arguments were of little consequence in a British society seemingly dominated by irrationality.

William E. Gladstone was frequently labeled a "Little Englander" during his long political career, and was so designated until recently.¹² Grey wrote to Russell, "I entirely differ from Cobden and Gladstone (& I am glad to think that you agree with me) who seem by their speeches to think that our Colonial Empire is of no use to us."¹³ But Gladstone, allegedly the epitome of the Exchequer mentality, had a far more comprehensive view of Britain's relation to its colonies than most statesmen of his day. By the 1850's he had arrived at the conviction, which he never abandoned, that regulation of colonial problems from Westminster was disadvantageous to Britain and degrading to the colonies. Such control involved heavy burdens for the British taxpayer without benefitting the general welfare of the colonists. In a memorandum written about 1850 he contrasted unfavorably the colonial administration with that which had been in effect before the American Revolution. "The mind may be struck," he observed, "with a rather painful impression that the school of discipline which we have provided for our later colonists has been less noble and less free than that in which Henry and Washington were reared."¹⁴

Gladstone acknowledged Britain's obligation to protect its colonies by the fleet and to defend them against foreign aggression, but insisted that the use of imperial troops to maintain order between settlers and aborigines in such colonies as New Zealand and the Cape of Good Hope was an incitement to wars rather than a deterrent, for it encouraged the settlers "to regard war as rather a luxury than a scourge, since though a scourge to those who are placed in its actual seat, it becomes a positive source of wealth to the colony at large."

¹¹ *Speeches on Questions of Public Policy, by Richard Cobden*, ed. John Bright and James E. Thorold Rogers (London, 1878), 248.

¹² One of the first to dissent from this description of Gladstone was Paul Knaplund, in his *Gladstone and Britain's Imperial Policy* (New York, 1947).

¹³ Grey to Russell, Nov. 18, 1850, Grey Papers.

¹⁴ Memo on colonies, undated, dated by Gladstone in 1888 as being "period 1848-50 I think" (probably written in 1851), Gladstone Papers, British Museum, Additional Manuscripts, 44, 738.

He conceived the proper relationship between Britain and the colonies to be one of mutual interests, common ideals, and familial sentiments, not of paternalistic control and perpetual interference. He stated in his memorandum:

We know by tradition that Colonies are beneficial, by experience that they are costly. We feel proud when we trace upon the map how large a portion of the surface of the earth owns the benignant sway of the British crown and we are pleased with the idea that the country which we love should so rapidly reproduce its own image, as it is said, in different quarters of the globe: but we are embarrassed when we see that the actual relation of feeling is not always that which should subsist between a mother and her children and that a degree of dissatisfaction attaches to the administration of colonial affairs at home, irrespective of the particular qualities of the minister of the day, which is wholly without parallel in reference to any other department of the Government.¹⁵

When the sources of charges of "separatism" against mid-century politicians are traced, they usually are found in observations on colonial expenditures or references to the disadvantages of Britain's continued possession of Canada. And since Canadian problems engaged the attention of British ministries and the British Parliament in the period 1830-1860 more than those of any other colony, perhaps of the rest of the Empire with the exception of India, it is easy to understand how such viewpoints could have been generalized to imply a comprehensive outlook on empire. Lord Brougham declared after the Canadian Rebellions of 1837 that an amicable separation would be a "positive gain" for Great Britain, and some members of both parties in the House of Commons expressed similar views.¹⁶ For the next generation, writers and politicians from time to time voiced the wistful thought that Britain would be better off without the liability of British North America. Such observations were particularly in evidence when Anglo-American relations were strained, for the exposure of Canada to American attack obviously was a source of embarrassment to the mother country so long as there was an obligation for its defense. But no minister ever expressed these sentiments, even in his most private communications with his trusted friends. On the contrary, every government—Whig or Tory, Liberal or Conservative—sought to maintain the connection and was dedicated to the proposition that British North America must not fall into the hands of the United States. Lord John Russell as Prime Minister in 1849 expressed the hope that by a federation the provinces of British North America would be able to enter the international community as adults able to support themselves, but "in strict alliance" with Great Britain. The pressing danger was annexation to the United States, "to which I never could give my assent."¹⁷

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ Bodelsen, *Mid-Victorian Imperialism*, 15.

¹⁷ Russell to Grey, Aug. 6, 1849, Grey Papers.

Russell pointed out that the absorption of Canada into the Republic would involve aggrandizement of American power and the extension of the American trade barrier against British manufactured goods.¹⁸ His specific views on the solution of the "Canadian problem" were not necessarily shared by his colleagues¹⁹ or by his successors, but there was no dissent among either that Canada belonged within the British rather than the American community.

It is hazardous to seek enlightenment on a statesman's viewpoints from public speeches or even from private letters; by selection from their speeches and writings it is possible to reach contradictory conclusions. But there is no evidence to support the assumption that doctrinaire "Little Englandism" was ever influential in either Parliament or cabinet.

The myth of the "Little England" era largely arises from a preoccupation with empire in a strictly political sense and a failure to recognize the importance of what has been called the "informal empire" of trade and investment.²⁰ The early Victorians were indifferent or hostile to the extension of formal empire because political control involved costly administration and even more costly responsibility for defense. It was much to be preferred that the conditions requisite for trade and investment should be maintained without such expense. But there was no indifference to the commercial interests of British society. While a debate on "colonial policy" would empty the House of Commons or reduce its members to utter boredom, debates on finance and commercial policy were certain to be conducted in an atmosphere of keen interest.

World conditions between 1815 and the 1870's favored a more relaxed policy than was possible in the later years of the century. Before 1870 Great Britain enjoyed a freedom of access to the markets of the world unparalleled before or since. Other states, which in the last quarter of the century would become formidable competitors, were eager buyers of British consumer goods and capital equipment. Powers which were to become leading participants in the scramble for colonies were either yet unborn (Germany and Italy) or were too preoccupied with internal problems to devote great energies to overseas expansion. France in 1830 had begun a campaign for the subjugation of Algeria, but the expenditure in men and resources was so great that "Algeria"

¹⁸ Russell to Grey, Aug. 19, 1849, *ibid.*

¹⁹ Russell suggested to Grey for his consideration that the colonies might send members to the House of Commons in proportion to their contributions to the general expense of troops, barracks, and fortifications. Grey replied that this idea was "startling at first" and required "much consideration." Grey to Russell, Aug. 23, 1849, PRO 30/22/8, PRO.

²⁰ The term "informal empire" was given currency by C. R. Fay. See his "The Movement Towards Free Trade," 388-414. For a perceptive discussion of the phenomenon, see John Gallagher and Ronald Robinson, "The Imperialism of Free Trade," *Economic History Review*, 2d ser., VI (Aug. 1953), 1-15.

became to British politicians a symbol of all the follies of empire; France also displayed sporadic activity in the South Pacific. But with minor exceptions these were halcyon days for British commerce. The conditions that were to necessitate assertion of sovereignty over new dependencies did not yet exist; a large part of the world was within the British sphere of commercial empire; and as long as merchants enjoyed easy access to markets there was no necessity for expensive wars of subjugation and the paraphernalia of imperial administration. When profitable markets were disrupted by the breakdown of order or by the hostility of a government, this apparent indifference abruptly ended. The "Opium War" of 1839-1842 was a demonstration that Britain in the free-trade area was prepared to use force, though as a last resort, to support trade.

If the term "Little Englanders" is of doubtful value as a description of a significant British attitude at mid-century, so also is the label "Colonial Reformer." At first glance the Colonial Reformers appear a far more coherent group than their alleged opponents, and certainly their spokesmen were emphatic in denunciation of the evils of paternalism and lucid in argument for colonial self-government. The writings and speeches of Lord Durham, Edward Gibbon Wakefield, Charles Buller, and Sir William Molesworth are eloquent expositions of the case for colonial freedom. But it was characteristic of these "reformers" to heighten the virtues of their arguments by overstating the defects of those who disagreed with them. Buller's sneering reference to Sir James Stephen as a dull, unimaginative clerk whose domination of colonial policy threatened to disrupt the Empire was characteristic of the treatment they meted out to those who dissented from their views in any respect. Wakefield and Buller used Wilmot Horton as a foil, unfairly characterizing Horton's views as the "shovelling out of paupers" to heighten the attractions of Wakefieldian systematic colonization.²¹ Like other zealots they created their own image of their opponents in order to destroy them. They contributed in substantial degree to the myth of the "Little Englander" as the antithesis of their own enlightened outlook. But the ideas they espoused belonged to the same family as the viewpoints of those they most vehemently denounced. The "Colonial Reformers" argued that concession of colonial self-government would bind the colonies to Britain by ties of interest and affection and that a corollary of self-government was self-support; in other words, the colonies should maintain themselves rather than continue to be a drain on the imperial treasury. With some differences in emphasis such a

²¹ The contributions of Wilmot Horton to the idea of systematic colonization should be reassessed. His views were much closer to Wakefield than the Wakefieldians were willing to admit.

viewpoint would have been endorsed by most members of the British Parliament. The antithesis of "Colonial Reform" and "Little England" bears no relation to reality. Molesworth is conventionally described as a "reformer," and he had good claims to be so regarded, yet he found it necessary at times to defend himself against the accusation that he was a "Little Englander." In 1838 he told the House of Commons:

. . . the saying, "Emancipate your colonies," means with those who employ it most emphatically a great deal more than the mere words convey. It is used, by some at least, to express an opinion that a country like this would be better without colonies, and even that it would have been better for us if we had never had colonies. From this sentiment, notwithstanding my respect for some who entertain it, I venture to disagree altogether.²²

In the 1830's he actively supported the South Australian and New Zealand schemes of systematic colonization, and a street in Wellington, New Zealand, commemorates his association with the foundations of that colony. Yet for all his disclaimers, the ideas expressed in Molesworth's writings and speeches frequently were indistinguishable from those attributed to the Separationists. His preoccupation, particularly after his return to Parliament in 1845 after a four-year retirement, was increasingly with the expense of colonies and the irrationality of buying customers for British products when the world at large was eager to trade. Britain did not require colonial dominion either to sell or to buy; in fact colonies exacted a tribute from Britain for which there was no economic return. In a speech in 1848 he argued that the only material benefit derived from the maintenance of colonies was the power to prevent the erection of hostile tariffs. But the total declared value of British exports was only about six million pounds, and the direct expenditure was approximately two million. No merchant would pay 6/8 on the pound to insure that his goods would compete freely with those of his competitors, yet this was what the British government was required to do to maintain its Empire. A dependent Canada was a source only of embarrassment and expense; an independent United States was more profitable to Britain than all its colonies combined. The implication of these arguments seemed to be that secession was desirable, but Molesworth refused to follow his logic to its ultimate conclusion. Rather he contended that if the colonies were granted self-government and required to support themselves, with Britain confining its protection to the oceanic trade routes, the result would in fact be a strengthening of the bonds of empire.²³ Molesworth did not seek the end of empire, but he sought the end of expensive paternalism. He spoke eloquently of the birth-

²² *Parliamentary Debates*, 3d ser., XLI, cols. 476-77.

²³ *Ibid.*, C, col. 830 ff.

right of Englishmen to be free men; he invoked the shades of Benjamin Franklin, Patrick Henry, and the Adamses to prove that control meant the breakup rather than the preservation of empire, but his voice rang with special authority and conviction when he inveighed against expense. And the reaction of his fellow members of Parliament indicated that it was this aspect of his appeal which had struck a responsive chord. In 1850 a Colonial Reform Society was founded to campaign for local self-government "for every dependency which is a true colony of England," but the prospectus of the Society provided that "it will be a main object of the Society's endeavours to relieve the Mother country from the whole expense of the local government of Colonies, except only that of the defence of the Colony from aggression by foreign powers at war with the Empire."²⁴ This objective to its supporters was "Liberal Imperialism"; to its opponents, "Little England." The *Times* enthusiastically endorsed the doctrines of the Society as opening the way to a new and more enlightened imperial relationship. Earl Grey, who as Colonial Secretary was the favorite target for the reformers' attacks, denounced their views as "absurd" and "absolutely inconsistent with the retention of the colonies at all." It was obvious to Grey that the *Times* was either wrong-headed or deluded. He wrote to Clarendon, "I can hardly believe that the conductors of the paper want to get rid of our Colonial Empire, yet undoubtedly they are doing their best to lead to this result and will succeed if they get the public to listen to them."²⁵

The spectrum of opinion on colonial policy was much narrower than the language of partisan politics would seem to indicate. The distance between the views of Russell and Grey and those of Molesworth and Gladstone was in fact small. The London *Evening Mail* perceptively observed after one spirited exchange between the Russell government and Molesworth that if actions rather than words were to be trusted, Molesworth had no more ardent supporters than the very ministers who denounced him for his "Little England" views,²⁶ for all agreed on the principle of colonial self-government and reduction of British expenditures for colonial purposes.

The terms "Little Englander," "Colonial Reformer," and "Liberal Imperialist" thus frustrate rather than facilitate comprehension of British colonial policy. They suggest a clash of opposites, which on examination proves to be nonexistent. The labels "humanitarian" and "philanthropist" on the other hand do have some value as a description of a particular philosophy. But these have been used as if they represented a community of viewpoint far

²⁴ Klaus Knorr, *British Colonial Theories, 1570-1850* (Toronto, 1944), 354.

²⁵ Grey to Clarendon, Jan. 21, 1851, Grey Papers.

²⁶ London *Evening Mail*, Apr. 11, 1851.

broader than the facts justify. After 1834 there was no humanitarian influence in British colonial policy. There were humanitarian influences. Men who considered themselves "humanitarians" advocated widely differing lines of policy.

Certainly the upsurge of evangelicalism in the late eighteenth and in the nineteenth centuries involved tremendous implications for British policy toward "backward races," not only within the British Empire but throughout the world. Those who were caught up by the fervor of the evangelical movement in many instances experienced the mental and physical anguish of a tortured conscience followed by the ecstasy of spiritual rebirth. The effects of conversion were often startling. It could transform a former slave trader into a clergyman whose message to the world was poured out in the hymn "How Sweet the Name of Jesus Sounds."²⁷ The duty of the reborn was not only to cleanse the soul by prayer and good works but to witness to the benighted, and the great missionary societies that were formed at the end of the eighteenth century were expressions of this zeal for the conversion of the heathen. Cynics were quick to point out that the saints suffered from spiritual long-sightedness, since their perception of social evils at the far ends of the earth was far clearer than their recognition of misery at home. Thomas Carlyle in *Past and Present* turned his fury on the maudlin sentimentalists of Exeter Hall who wept at the injustices to the savages, but were unaffected by scenes in their own society which to him were abhorrent:

O Anti-Slavery Convention, loud-sounding long-eared Exeter Hall—But in thee too is a kind of instinct towards justice, and I will complain of nothing. Only black Quashee over the seas being once sufficiently attended to, wilt thou not perhaps open thy dull sodden eyes to the "sixty-thousand valets in London itself who are yearly dismissed to the streets, to be what they can when the season ends"; or to the hunger-stricken, pallid, *yellow*-coloured "Free Labourers" in Lancashire, Yorkshire, Buckinghamshire, and all other shires! These Yellow-coloured, for the present, absorb all my sympathies. . . .²⁸

It is not within the province of this discussion to evaluate fully the justice of Carlyle's attack. But it is relevant to point out that "humanitarianism" in the first half of the nineteenth century did not imply a reordering of the social and economic hierarchy; it did not attack the validity of the immutable laws of economics. The "saints" were not unconcerned with evils at their doorstep, as Carlyle alleged, and humanitarianism did contribute to reforms which ameliorated the condition of the poor and, indeed, indirectly

²⁷ John Newton quit the slave trade in 1755 at the age of thirty, experienced conversion, and became an Anglican clergyman and rector of Olney. With the poet William Cowper he wrote the *Olney Hymns*, published in 1779.

²⁸ Thomas Carlyle, *Past and Present* (London, 1843), 278.

to the transformation of the society. But he was correct when he cried that they were stirred by the dramatic and the exotic far more than by subtle forms of injustice. Graphic descriptions of the horrors of the slave trade could evoke profound indignation, and attacks on legal slavery could produce a movement of power sufficient to cause Parliament to pass legislation to end such abhorrent practices. But the leaders of these campaigns tended to accept stereotypes of "black Quashee" and of those who oppressed him which bore no relationship to flesh and blood human beings.

The preoccupation of Exeter Hall was not with understanding; it was engaged in a crusade against evil, and understanding would have blurred the issues. This characteristic gave it the power to destroy the institution of legal slavery in the British Empire, but it did not give it the wisdom to cope intelligently with the more complex forms of racial problems that remained after 1834. The missionary magazines of this era are filled with descriptions of the essentially noble qualities of the children of nature whom the missionaries sought to win for Christ. One article, typical of many, appeared in 1836 under the title "The Humane and Generous Caffre," describing the heroism of a tribesman who had rescued a white child whose father had been killed by the Kaffirs during the war and had carried him to safety in Graham's Town. Despite this act of nobility, he was imprisoned as a spy.²⁹ The antithesis thus represented of the virtuous savage and the ignoble settler was a standard stereotype which provoked the anger not only of the white colonists generally but of those in the colonial society who were most concerned with the welfare of the tribesmen. Andries Stockenström, who was cursed by the frontiersmen of Cape Colony and commended by the missionaries as a "humanitarian," in 1830 condemned the "Exeter Hall" mentality in these terms:

. . . experience has too well taught that independent of the ignorant, prejudiced and deluded part of the community in England (whose opinion we might condemn) even extensive circles among the truly worthy and respectable, whose approbation & support are in every respect desirable will at once set down as a narrow minded and oppressive enemy of the Aborigines and other coloured classes—and as hostile to their amelioration,—any man who shall presume in the least to differ with those . . . to whose views they have made their own reasoning powers entirely subservient.³⁰

Even among the missionaries themselves there were those who condemned the "humanitarians" of England for their unrealistic appraisal of the nature of tribal society and their lack of understanding of the complexities of the settler-tribesman conflict. In southern Africa such views were frequently

²⁹ *Missionary Magazine*, VI (Nov. 1836), 85–86.

³⁰ Remarks of the Commissioner General (Stockenström), Dec. 7, 1830, CO 48/144, PRO.

expressed by representatives of the Wesleyan Missionary Society. One of their most prominent missionaries, the Reverend Mr. W. B. Boyce, wrote that "the indiscriminating and unreasonable prejudice of a class of philanthropists in Britain, has thrown back the Kaffer to his former degraded condition as the vassal of a tyrannical feudal lord."³¹ The Wesleyan and the London Societies were at times in a state of open hostility to each other, and the advice they offered governors for the resolution of the "native problem" was frequently contradictory. The Select Committee on the Aborigines, which was dominated by its chairman Thomas Fowell Buxton, quoted approvingly from the sermon of one evangelical minister that "it is our office to carry civilization and humanity, peace and good government, and above all, the knowledge of the true God, to the uttermost ends of the earth."³² Those objectives were not necessarily harmonious, and the committee's report was of little use as a guide to policy. Indeed, it was virtually ignored.

Humanitarians could agree that protection for the aborigines should be afforded by the executive as representative of the home government and could not safely be entrusted to a local legislature; they were united in opposition to unjust seizure of lands by European settlers and to a labor system which would subject unsophisticated peoples to indefinite terms of servitude. They believed that the salvation of these peoples in this world and the next could be attained only through religious instruction and education. Their influence in defense of the aborigines was of great significance. They contributed to the emphasis which in the twentieth century was to develop into the principle of trusteeship;³³ they appealed to the conscience of British society against what many of their contemporaries considered the natural law by which the strong exterminated or enslaved the weak; and the violence with which they have subsequently been condemned by white racists is a measure of their effectiveness. But the cohesion of purpose and political power of the humanitarians has been greatly exaggerated. The principles of "Exeter Hall" were so broad that their effect on specific decisions in imperial policy after the Emancipation Act was amorphous. The language of humanitarianism was conventional in the Victorian Age and was used by those who were hostile to the saints of Exeter Hall. Every respectable Englishman believed himself motivated by Christian principles. Colonel George Gawler, writing to the commander of his son's regiment, expressed gratification at the outbreak of a Kaffir war, which would give the young man an opportunity to do his

³¹ W. B. Boyce, *Notes on South-African Affairs* (London, 1839), 64.

³² *Report from the Select Committee on Aborigines* (British Settlements), ordered by House of Commons to be printed, June 26, 1837 (425), 76.

³³ George R. Mellor, *British Imperial Trusteeship, 1783-1850* (London, 1951).

duty, and concluded, "I have always laboured to impress upon him that, whether in or out of the Army, 'the Christian is the highest style of man'; and I am grateful to God that my son, though far away, remembers my admonition."³⁴ Sir Benjamin D'Urban, whose annexation of the territory of the Amaxhosa to the Kei River was attacked by the London Missionary Society, asserted with conviction that his opponents were pseudo philanthropists and that his measures promoted the interests of "humanity, policy, and real future security" for both settlers and tribesmen.³⁵ His mercuric subordinate Harry Smith exploded that "those Canting Ultra Philanthropists will be the curse of the very people to serve whom they are gulling the People of England, and making a British Minister crouch to their d—d Jesuitical procedure."³⁶

An individual in different situations might be labeled a "humanitarian" and an advocate of economy. Sir James Stephen has been described by his biographer as a "Christian humanitarian,"³⁷ and that description fits him as well as any statesman of his day. But in his counsel on policy in Cape Colony, Stephen advocated retrenchment with all the vigor of the most ardent disciple of Cobden and Bright. Earl Grey at times expressed views indistinguishable from those advocated by the missionary societies, as when he sought to promote the organization of tribes north and west of the Vaal River for defense against the Boer, and on other occasions his policy seemed to be dictated by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. These differences in emphasis do not imply a contradiction in their philosophies. It would be a misconception to consider "humanitarians" and "Exchequer minds" as at opposite ends of a spectrum of opinion. Few nineteenth-century humanitarians would have been prepared to demand large levies on the British treasury for the execution of their schemes for promoting the welfare of "backward peoples"; they shared with the generality of the British middle classes a deep aversion to tax burdens for any purpose, colonial or domestic. They might contribute, and many contributed generously, in time and money to the work of a private society, but in their capacities as merchants, manufacturers, professional men, or landowners they expected vigorous economy in their government's budget. To the leaders of the humanitarians, as to Gladstone, economy was a religion.

Ministers showed public deference to the great missionary societies, and their dispatches were often couched in humanitarian language. But they could find humanitarian support for widely varying lines of policy. In South Africa some humanitarians opposed expansion; others supported the exten-

³⁴ Gawler to William Eyre, June 13, 1831, Eyre Papers, PRO 30/46/3, PRO.

³⁵ D'Urban to John Bell, Sept. 25, 1835, D'Urban Papers, P-C2, Cape Archives.

³⁶ Smith to D'Urban, Apr. 3, 1836, very private, GH 34/8, Cape Archives.

³⁷ Paul Knaplund, *James Stephen and the British Colonial System* (Madison, Wis., 1953), 17.

sion of British authority for the protection of tribes beyond the cape frontier. At times advocates of reduced imperial expenditures favored expansion and at other times retreat.

A great diversity of interests wore humanitarian garb. The Hudson's Bay Company professed to be promoting the well-being of the Indians; the New Zealand Company stated that one of its principal aims was advancement of the welfare and civilization of the Maoris. English residents of Port Natal before the annexation of 1843 called for the dispatch of imperial troops partly on humanitarian grounds—the protection of tribesmen against the heartless Boers—though there was reason for suspicion that their own self-interest was a predominant consideration.³⁸

Buxton's Select Committee of 1835–1837 opposed treaties with uncivilized peoples as a source of disputes rather than of mutual security; other humanitarians, including Dr. John Philip, superintendent in South Africa of the London Missionary Society, espoused such treaties. British governors professed to be following a humanitarian line when they adopted the treaty system in southern Africa. Whatever policy the government chose to pursue could be defended on the basis of humanitarianism. But the universal use of humanitarian language does not mean the universal ascendancy of humanitarian influences, and the humanitarians' own assessment is a most unreliable basis for determining their actual strength.

The "humanitarians" and their detractors shared a conviction that British society had a higher destiny than the extension of its physical influence. Victorians long before Kipling's reference to "the lesser breeds without the law" had a sense of moral and intellectual superiority, which often expressed itself as arrogance. But coupled with this conviction was an acceptance of obligation which even in an age of free trade and retrenchment was never entirely absent. British law, the most enlightened distillation of the best in the human intellect, was an article for export, and the conferral of British order, security, and justice was a priceless boon. Of this sense of destiny, the humanitarian movement was one, but only one, manifestation, and in recasting the interpretation of nineteenth-century imperial policy this broader "missionary" impulse must be given greater recognition.

As is painfully evident to any serious student of imperial history, British

³⁸ This humanitarian justification for self-interest continued after the arrival of the troops. The commandant of Port Natal wrote that "the English residents, in order to get servants cheap, are willing to take them into their service without inquiry, and then to plead the cause of philanthropy in excuse." Smith to Sir George Napier, Nov. 7, 1842, in John Bird, *Annals of Natal* (2 vols., Pietermaritzburg, 1888), II, 125. C. F. J. Muller, *Die Britse Owerheid en die Groot Trek* (Cape Town, 1949), 216, states that of all the confirmed philanthropists, Sir James Stephen was far and away the most important.

policy in the nineteenth century was characterized by apparent inconsistencies which seem to defy coherent analysis. The labels of "Little Englander," "Colonial Reformer," and "Humanitarian" are subject to indictment in large part because they produce a false impression of symmetry. Any new approach will require a creative imagination, but unlike earlier interpretations must be based upon careful examination of the facts.

* * * *Notes and Suggestions* * * *

American Historians and the Study of Urbanization

ERIC E. LAMPARD*

PUBLIC concern with the nation's cities and their "problems" is almost as old as the cities themselves. Like beauty, however, problems exist in the eye of the beholder; they reveal more about the nature of the observer, perhaps, than about the object observed. Thus, after more than half a century of problem-oriented research on cities, it is surprising how little we know about the phenomenon of urbanization, or, to adapt Josh Billings, how much we know "that ain't so." The proliferation of undergraduate courses in urban sociology, the mushroom growth of a planning profession, and the lively interest of politicians and publicists in "the exploding metropolis" should not obscure the fact that we have neglected the study of social processes that create cities. A review of literature in the field, moreover, gives rise to an uneasy feeling that many of us, historians and social scientists alike, are still working with outmoded concepts and inadequate tools. Revival of public concern in recent years, therefore, provides an occasion for intellectual stock-taking which is long overdue.¹ It may be helpful to consider some of the possible shortcomings as they have affected historical studies of American cities.

Until recently historians have had little cause for satisfaction with their contributions to the field. American urban history—what there is of it—is largely the history of cities and their "problems," not the history of urbaniza-

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¹ Thus, the much-advertised idea of a federal department of urban affairs goes back at least to the administrations of Taft and Wilson. Little new in substance has been added to the proposal since that time: Philip Kates, "A National Department of Municipalities," *American City*, VI (Jan. 1912), 405-407; Harlean James, "Service—The Keynote of a New Cabinet Department," *Review of Reviews*, LIX (Feb. 1919), 187-90; Charles E. Merriam, "Cities in a Changing World," *City Problems of 1934*, Annual Proceedings of US Conference of Mayors (Chicago, 1935), 73-74. For the recent discussion, see Robert H. Connery and Richard H. Leach, "Do We Need a Department of Urban Affairs?" *Western Political Quarterly*, XIII (Mar. 1960), 99-112.

tion. Scholars have been preoccupied with biographies of particular communities, with case studies in urban rivalry, or the general "impact" of the city on society, rather than the study of urbanization as a societal process.² We know little beyond a bare statistical outline of the secular phenomenon of population concentration, the multiplication of points of concentration, or of relations among concentrations of different size and density in various parts of the country at different times in our history. Studies of this sort are, to be sure, the province of demographers, and historical demography is a most arcane science, yet ignorance of these fundamentals of social structure and organization has not prevented historians from speculating at length on the "significance" of westward migration nor from composing doleful accounts of urban-industrial transformation in the late nineteenth century. A serious social history of the United States ought to begin with the study of population.

Within the historical guild, only ancient and medieval scholars seem to have regarded the causes and consequences of population concentration as an essential part of the study of social change. Ancient historians often made the growth of cities coterminous with the development of civilization.³ Prominent medievalists treated the growth of cities almost as an antibody to the rural stagnation implicit in older notions of *Naturalwirtschaft* and manorialism. Localized urban developments are thought to have accelerated the decline of medieval parochialism and to have helped energize dynamic, acquisitive communities—the forerunners of modern industrialism.⁴ This kind of discourse, acceptable to the historical economists, sociologists, and geographers who once thrived in the somber forests of German *Wissenschaft* and the more lucent groves of French *civilisation*, did not take root in the United States; it was decidedly out of place around the seminar tables of graduate

² In our use of the term "urbanization," we follow Hope Tisdale, "The Process of Urbanization," *Social Forces*, XX (Mar. 1942), 311–16.

³ Ralph E. Turner, *The Great Cultural Traditions: The Foundations of Civilization* (2 vols., New York, 1941), I, 130–31, 324–25; Herbert J. Fleure, "The Historic City in Western and Central Europe," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, XX (July–Aug. 1936), 312–13. Some qualifications on the exclusiveness and persistence of the association are expressed in Stuart Piggott, "The Role of the City in Ancient Civilizations," *Metropolis in Modern Life*, ed. Robert M. Fisher (Garden City, N. Y., 1955), 5–17, and A. H. M. Jones, *The Greek City from Alexander to Justinian* (Oxford, Eng., 1940), *passim*.

⁴ Henri Pirenne, *Medieval Cities* (Princeton, N. J., 1925); Carl Stephenson, *Borough and Town* (Cambridge, Mass., 1933); Robert E. Dickinson, *The West European City: A Geographical Interpretation* (London, 1951); Roberto S. Lopez, "The Trade of Medieval Europe: The South," in *The Cambridge Economic History*, II, ed. Michael Postan and E. E. Rich (Cambridge, Eng., 1952), 257–354; Fritz Rörig, *Die europäische Stadt und die Kultur des Bürgertums im Mittelalter* (Göttingen, 1955). John H. Mundy and Peter Riesenbergh, *The Medieval Town* (Princeton, N. J., 1958), 9–15, 92–94, argue that: "Our teachers and our experience . . . conspire to make us exaggerate the meaning of urbanism." Nevertheless, viewing the growth of civilization over five thousand years, "this movement is that of an urban civilization that progressed from the eastern Mediterranean to Europe, and from Europe to the World." Also, Gideon Sjoberg, *The Preindustrial City, Past and Present* (Glencoe, Ill., 1960).

schools of American history. After all, Americans had been taught that the United States was born in the country, that its most cherished institutions and ways of life were uniquely shaped in a rustic mold. The yeoman, the pioneer, the frontiersman, the cultivator, and their near neighbors, the independent craftsman and enterpriser, were the idealized types: the original and noblest representatives of the nation's spirit and character. This agrarian view of society was supported by much literary and statistical evidence. During the nineteenth century, it hardened into ideology. If European society was in any sense "urban," then the city was part of the bag of tricks rejected in 1776.

What American historians brought back from their pilgrimage abroad was a methodological passion for particularism and formal documentation. Up to a point this was salutary, but when historians looked for conceptual frameworks to explain American development, they mistook the phenomena of variation and difference for "uniqueness." It was easy to believe, in Frederick Jackson Turner's words, that the "true point of view" could be found in "the Great West." For all but political purposes, the historic connection between the rise of a "manufacturing civilization" in the Northeast and a "continually advancing frontier line" in the interior was ignored. The centrifugal currents of migration obscured centripetal currents from view. Although some historical studies of municipalities (largely legalistic or fiscal) had been published by Johns Hopkins University before Turner's influential paper on "the frontier," the general approach to the city had been set in 1888 when James Bryce (and his American informants Seth Low and Frank J. Goodnow) published *The American Commonwealth*. Bryce concluded that the growth of great cities was "among the most significant and least fortunate changes in the character of the population" during the first century of the Republic.⁵

The kind of socioeconomic generalization that crept in with the "new history" after the turn of the century was, from the standpoint of a history of urbanization, not a very notable advance over the older preoccupations with origins or uniqueness. Following such economists as C. H. Cooley, E. A. Ross, and A. T. Hadley, increases in the number and size of city populations

⁵ Frederick Jackson Turner, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," 1893, as reprinted in his *The Frontier in American History* (New York, 1920), 1-3. James Bryce, *The American Commonwealth* (2 vols., New York and London, 1889), I, 593. By the nineties, agitation for "good government" and municipal reform had given rise to a number of specialized periodicals such as: *Municipal Affairs*, *City Government*, *Public Improvements*, *Good Government*, *Park & Cemetery*, and the *American Magazine of Civics*. See also "Municipal Reform Organizations," Philadelphia Publications of the National Municipal League, *Pamphlet No. 4*, 1895. For bibliography, R. T. Daland, "Political Science and the Study of Urbanism, A Bibliographical Essay," *American Political Science Review*, LI (June 1957), 491-509.

were regarded as passive incidents in the growth and refinement of transportation systems or as an outcome of the Industrial Revolution of the late nineteenth century. Unfortunately, the conceptual framework for the analysis of urban phenomena was a peculiar compound of agrarian folklore and reformist outrage. Cities were treated almost exclusively as political and social "problems." A genuine disgust with "urban" conditions combined with an ingrained rural romanticism (a literary and political doctrine) to spread the conviction that cities were costly deviants from some natural, more verdant, order of community life. When they bothered with the subject at all, historians became absorbed in the minutiae of urban biography or explored the careers of reform movements which attempted to lift man up from his fallen "urban" condition. The only urban history was, for long, written by men with a reforming bent and the bulk of city histories by chroniclers of local fame.⁶ In either case, the process of urbanization was overlooked.

In the last quarter century and, more especially, in the last decade, urban history has gained greater stature among professional historians. In 1921 Edward Channing had pointed to the "urban migration" of the years 1815-1848 as a neglected aspect of changes that accompanied the development of the trans-Appalachian West. But it was not until 1933 that urban history excited general interest with the publication of Arthur M. Schlesinger's *The Rise of the City*, in which was detailed much of the substance of urban-industrial changes in the late nineteenth century.⁷ By 1952 Blake McKelvey could list fifty-odd volumes devoted to one or another aspect of the nation's urban past covering the early colonial period to the present day.⁸ Meanwhile the urban-industrial transformation had become part of the furniture displayed in every up-to-date textbook of United States history and in the

⁶ On the changing emphases of early city historians, see the case study by R. Richard Wohl and A. Theodore Brown, "The Usable Past: A Study of Historical Traditions in Kansas City," *Huntington Library Quarterly*, XXIII (May 1960), 237-59.

⁷ Edward Channing, *History of the United States* (6 vols., New York, 1905-25), V, 70-92; Arthur M. Schlesinger, *The Rise of the City, 1878-1898* (New York, 1933). By 1925, if not before, Turner himself recognized the need for "an urban reinterpretation of our history": cited by Arthur M. Schlesinger, *Paths to the Present* (New York, 1949), 210.

⁸ Blake McKelvey, "American Urban History Today," *American Historical Review*, LVII (July 1952), 919-29, provides the most comprehensive survey of literature in the field. Among more recent titles are: Lewis Atherton, *Main Street on the Middle Border* (Bloomington, Ind., 1954); Arthur Mann, *Yankee Reformers in the Urban Age* (Cambridge, Mass., 1954); Carl Bridenbaugh, *Cities in Revolt: Urban Life in America, 1743-1776* (New York, 1955); Nelson M. Blake, *Water for the Cities* (Syracuse, N. Y., 1956); Constance M. Green, *American Cities in the Growth of the Nation* (London and New York, 1957); Richard C. Wade, *The Urban Frontier: The Rise of Western Cities, 1790-1830* (Cambridge, Mass., 1959). Among the outstanding city histories are: Bessie L. Pierce, *A History of Chicago* (3 vols., New York, 1937, 1940, 1957); Blake McKelvey, *Rochester* (3 vols., Cambridge, Mass., 1945, 1949, 1956), and Bayrd Still, *Milwaukee, The History of a City* (Madison, Wis., 1948). The only general work on urbanization is still a comparative treatment by Adna F. Weber, *The Growth of Cities in the Nineteenth Century* (New York, 1899).

flood of source books piled on undergraduates. The post-Civil War "impact" of the city on farm, family, church, politics, and, not least, on people is recounted in dolorous terms. It provides a necessary, disturbing overture to more reassuring harmonies achieved in the ensuing era of progressive reform. It helps fill a political void between the "End of Reconstruction" and the "Populist Revolt." Discussion centers on the conflict between an expanding urban-industrialism and a retreating rural-agrarianism in which old American values and institutions were at stake. Out of the upheaval stemmed a need for reform in government, law, economy, religion, social attitudes and relations. Thanks in part to the "progressive movement," the promise of American life was eventually made good.⁹ What was essential to the old "rural" way of life was adapted, in modified form, to the new "urban" way. By the 1920's the urban-industrial matrix appears so well established that social historians take it for granted. While a few isolated pockets of "rural" America are left fighting a political rear-guard action against the twentieth century, urban-rural conflict no longer provides an adequate dialectic of change. The city drops out of the summary treatments of social history and only reappears in recent years as a point of departure for considering the rise of suburbia.¹⁰ Needless to add, these superficial generalizations about the city were based neither on the piecemeal monographic work of urban historians nor upon any systematic study of urbanization. Apart from reducing the profession's myopic obsession with "the frontier," we doubt whether the "urban impact" school accomplished much of lasting importance to historiography.

The small body of professional urban historians may be exempted from many of these strictures. They place their communities in historical context and deal concretely with the growth of population, economic development, characteristics of native- and foreign-born residents, the deficiencies of municipal administration, powers, and finance. They point, moreover, to the

⁹ See, e.g., Carl N. Degler, *Out of Our Past: The Forces That Shaped Modern America* (New York, 1959), 362. Also, Roy Lubove, "The Twentieth Century City: The Progressive as Municipal Reformer," *Mid-America*, XLI (Oct. 1959).

¹⁰ Fortunately we have been spared the full-blown "urban interpretation" of American history against which William Diamond warned: "On the Dangers of an Urban Interpretation of History," *Historiography and Urbanization*, ed. Eric F. Goldman (Baltimore, 1941), 67-108. But if one rejoices at our immunity from another variant of monism, it is necessary to add that the writing of American history has for too long been structured in terms of antithetical groups and forces in dialectical conflict: "The East" and "the frontier," the democracy against "Business" or "Government," "agriculture" and "industry," "rural" versus "urban," and so on. Such categories disclose an overly "political" view of historical change. For social historians, at least, it is necessary to explore the underlying structural and organizational changes that go much deeper than the epiphenomenal patterns of politics. Developments discussed above, for example, might be viewed as the unfolding of diverse (and sometimes contradictory) effects of a multi-linear process of growth: industrialization, one of the concomitants of which, under certain technological and institutional conditions, has been the urbanization of population.

opportunities for economic, social, and cultural improvement which a large and varied population permits. As a consequence, urban history is no longer regarded as a mere chronicle of local color and description, but as a potentially important perspective on many aspects of regional and national development. The study of particular communities and of general "urban problems" may illuminate subjects previously neglected or treated only within the "over-aggregated" framework of the nation as a whole. In many respects, the United States is not a whole, and, if the thrusts of technology and pulls of opportunity tend to make people and places more alike and to reduce the divisive force of provincial influences in national affairs, the history of cities reveals how often community life has diverged from the mainstream.

It is precisely at this point, however, that historical particularism breaks down and that the potential asset becomes a present liability. We do not know enough about urbanization or "urban" characteristics in general to determine what is unique or otherwise in the experience of particular communities. The variant "facts of history" cannot be defined nor their significance appraised until they are treated in relation to larger conceptual frameworks, yet the conventional type of local history, though monumental in detail, seldom furnishes data in forms that are readily adaptable to macroscopic treatment. We lack, therefore, not only generalized frameworks of analysis but consistent and comparable data relevant to them. We need to identify the functions and characteristics that are associated with populations of different size and density countrywide, to discriminate among small towns, cities, and metropolises, and among such places in varying regional contexts over time. By such means we might secure a more systematic empirical knowledge of urbanization and its concomitants on the basis of which our particularizations about this or that community would be more pertinent and precise. As it is, the multiplication of case studies may only add to confusion, unless their findings can be related to larger and more comprehensive frames of reference.

A definition of urbanization in terms of population concentration provides a framework for the study of cities, which is relatively unambiguous. Urbanization is conceived as a societal process resulting in the formation of cities. If urbanization is sustained, the number and size of cities increase, and a larger proportion of the population comes to live in cities. Cities may continue to exist after urbanization has slackened or ceased all together. Alternatively, intensification of the process may eventually produce an urbanized society in which an overwhelming majority of the population is concentrated in and around urban centers. The entire span of American history from the

seventeenth century furnishes examples of all these possibilities. At first, the process was sporadic and highly localized along the seaboard, later it accelerated, especially in the Northeast after 1820.¹¹ Each subsequent phase of westward migration contributed to urbanization regionally and nationally, and, before the close of the nineteenth century, it affected every part of the continental territory in some degree. Both centrifugal and centripetal movements of population marked American history from the outset and continued long after the disappearance of "the frontier."¹² A varying rate of urbanization has been a characteristic feature of the larger settlement pattern assumed by the growing population as it organized to control, utilize, and enjoy a greater volume and variety of material goods and services. Its association with rising average levels of living has been demonstrably close.¹³

But in order for cities to grow there had to be means as well as motives. Although we may conclude from their performance that Americans have prized material achievement, we cannot use this observation to explain the achievement, let alone the pattern of community development. The motivations that give rise to organized human communities are doubtless inherent in urbanization, but are distinct from it. They are in no generic sense "urban" as opposed, say, to "rural" motivations. It is the means, therefore, that at once created the material abundance and gave form and focus to related movements of people. In the broadest sense of the word, these means have been technological. Neither population increase nor technological progress, however, is to be identified exclusively with cities, but both may give rise to urbanization and hence to cities. As Hope Tisdale has argued, technology

¹¹ "The proportion between rural and town population of a country is an important fact in its interior economy and condition. It determines in a great degree, its capacity for manufactures, the extent of its commerce, and the amount of its wealth. . . . Whatever may be the good or evil tendencies of populous cities, they are the result to which all countries that are at once fertile, free, and intelligent inevitably tend." George Tucker, *The Progress of the United States in Population and Wealth in Fifty Years* (Boston, 1843), 127.

¹² By the late 1840's more than half the population of Massachusetts and Rhode Island was urbanized. Before 1860 some 20 per cent of the nation's population lived in 392 urban places and, of this proportion, nearly 43 per cent lived in 9 cities or more than 100,000 inhabitants. By 1900 about 40 per cent of the United States population was resident in 1,735 urban centers. Between 1860 and 1900 the share of the United States population living in cities, 100,000 and over, rose by more than 10 percentage points; the share in cities under 10,000 increased by only 3 percentage points; and the share in the intermediate range rose by 6.6 percentage points. See also, Leon B. Truesdell, "The Development of the Urban-Rural Classification in the United States: 1874 to 1949," *Current Population Reports, Population Characteristics*, ser. p-23, No. 1 (US Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Aug. 5, 1949), 1-13. Everett S. Lee and Anne S. Lee, "Internal Migration Statistics for the United States," *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, LV (Dec. 1960), 664-97, for a discussion of concepts and sources on migration.

¹³ For the association between urbanization of population and per capita personal incomes nationwide, 1870-1950, see Harvey S. Perloff *et al.*, *Regions, Resources, and Economic Growth* (Baltimore, 1960), 184-90, 274-83. For an intensive local study of the same association, see Anthony M. Tang, *Economic Development in the Southern Piedmont, 1860-1950, Its Impact on Agriculture* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1958).

is the *sine qua non* of urbanization, but the reverse is not true: "technology is not the exclusive property of the city; it operates in every province and pocket of society."¹⁴

This conclusion reveals another serious deficiency in our thinking. The generic properties of urban and nonurban communities (usually lumped together and labeled "rural") have never been adequately defined. Too often, the terms "city" and "urban" have been given circular or tautologous meanings. Urban communities are said to exist when certain "problems" or social attributes take certain forms; communities are differentiated in terms of problems, but the problems are by definition "urban." Still worse, many writers have affirmed that cities are "ways of life" or "states of mind"; they refer quite loosely to "urban" attitudes, "urban" aspirations, or "urban" behavior. Clearly, we need a more comprehensive and searching theory of "community" in order to ascertain what is generically "urban" or otherwise in the American experience. Phenomena that are found in cities are not necessarily "urban" per se, and yet this is precisely what many scholars have implied. In this regard, measuring devices have often stood surrogates for theory. The urban-rural continuum, for example, merely substituted a linear scale of demarcation for the original dichotomy of ideal types, with the opposing "urban" and "rural" type constructs placed at the poles of the continuum. The attributes of the types were reaffirmed by definition, and an assumption was made that attributes varied together with the same degree of "urban" or "rural" quality along the continuum. While this was a gesture in the direction of common-sense understanding and represented a limited improvement in measurement, it was not an advance in theory. If, as Albert J. Reiss, Jr., has suggested, the variables selected to discriminate between "urban" and "rural" are themselves questionable, then the task of analysis remains all but insuperable.¹⁵ Propositions about relationships among social phenomena cannot be more reliable, from a heuristic standpoint, than the concepts they purport to link.

¹⁴ Tisdale, "Process of Urbanization," 311-16.

¹⁵ Albert J. Reiss, Jr., "An Analysis of Urban Phenomena," in *Metropolis in Modern Life*, ed. Fisher, 41-49, argues that we have little evidence that the variables (invention and creativity, complex division of labor, agricultural activity, size of settlement, etc.) actually discriminate among communal forms; that we do not know whether such variables are independent sources of variation, or whether the discriminating variables are exhaustive sets descriptive of communal forms. Otis D. Duncan and Albert J. Reiss, Jr., *Social Characteristics of Urban and Rural Communities 1950* (New York, 1956), point out that the characteristics of populations ordered by city size along a continuum reveal a variety of patterns in relationship: that is, the relationship is not necessarily linear. The advantage of a simple demographic definition of urbanization, such as that suggested above (in terms of population concentration), is that it incorporates only two variables (population and space). Hence all other variables, for example, organizational or behavioral characteristics, may be allowed to vary independently. Thus the connection between urbanization and, say, a certain occupational structure is not prejudged.

When the problem of community types is approached from a somewhat different angle—one more congenial to historians, perhaps—by defining prerequisites for cities, the business of conceptualization is not much advanced. Preconditions for cities are by definition preurban and cannot, therefore, be attributes of urban communities as such. They may be “rural” or more likely something else again to which the adjective “rural” is attached merely to signify location, not the properties of a distinctive community type within the scope of the urban-rural dichotomy. If anything, the emergence of such conditions should be considered, as in the case of technological progress, in a broader societal or cultural framework.

Analytical confusion has been compounded, moreover, because the “urban impact” school of social historians, like its counterpart in sociology, has identified the pathological with the normative conditions of city life. As if its political shortcomings were not enough, the city milieu has been represented as a cockpit of social disorganization, anonymity, impersonality, and deviant behavior.¹⁶ Secondary relationships among people are assumed to have multiplied at the expense of primary relationships. By implication, the country remained a place for natural, personal, and hence more “satisfying” human relationships.¹⁷ It is curious, therefore, that, at about the time when “the city problem” was being taken over by social scientists from nineteenth-century moralizers and reformers, a new species of scientist also appeared in the country to succeed the old uplifters and grass-roots improvers. While the private inclinations and public affiliations of rural sociologists required due deference to the “agrarian myth,” their professional concerns compelled them to take a more critical view of country life. They found an urgent need to reform its attitudes and ameliorate its conditions. In the country no less than in the city, health, housing, education, social relations, and even religion were found wanting.¹⁸

¹⁶ Josiah Strong, *The Twentieth Century City* (New York, 1898); *id.*, *The Challenge of the City* (New York, 1907); Delos F. Wilcox, *Great Cities in America: Their Problems and Their Government* (New York, 1910); John W. Bookwalter, *Rural versus Urban: Their Conflict and Its Cause* (New York, 1911). Robert C. Brooks, *Bibliography of Municipal Problems and City Conditions* (2d ed., New York, 1901), is an invaluable guide to the contemporary discussion at home and abroad.

¹⁷ Robert E. Park *et al.*, *The City* (Chicago, 1925). While Louis Wirth thought of the city as the historic center of progress, learning, and of improved living standards, he still characterized it as the locus of poverty, crime, and social disorganization: “Urbanism as a Way of Life,” *American Journal of Sociology*, XLIV (July 1938), 1–24. More recently, see *Cities Are Abnormal*, ed. Elmer T. Peterson (Norman, Okla., 1946).

¹⁸ Rural experts hoped to make country people as well off as city people were thought to be. The Country Life Movement was described by Liberty Hyde Bailey as “the working out of a desire to make rural civilization as effective and satisfying as other civilization.” *The Country-Life Movement in the United States* (New York, 1911), 1–30. George W. Fiske conceded the need “to make country life as satisfying as city life and country forces as effective as city forces.” *The Challenge of the Country: A Study of Country Life Opportunity* (New York and London, 1913),

In most of these respects the "urban impact" historians seem to have been greatly influenced by the substantive writing of contemporary critics and the prescriptive writing of the early social scientists. The city is "abnormal," and rural life is presumed wholesome and sane, at least until the serpent of industrialism crept into the garden during the late nineteenth century.¹⁹ Neither historians nor sociologists, however, developed a very clear notion of what constitutes a "normal" community by which one could judge the relevance of their findings. It was wise, perhaps, not to attempt a definition when most communities were experiencing rapid and far-reaching change.²⁰ Evidently much was rotten in the state of both city and country, but it seems likely that the diagnoses of both sorts of social doctor were based upon a rather artificial criterion: if not the Garden of Eden, then some romantic, corporate ideal of a preindustrial Arcadia. Both seem to have accepted the compartmentalization of society into "urban" and "rural" types and to have adopted the somewhat superficial distinctions made by economists between "industry" and "agriculture." When challenged on this, however, the historians, unlike the sociologists, were unable to fall back on the rather lame excuse that they were only talking about "ideal types."²¹

Some of these older confusions and misconceptions are still found in social science literature. Thus, when changes in technology and social organization (notably cheap electric power transmission, the automobile, and rising levels of per capita personal income) permitted some relaxation of population concentration after World War I and contributed to the reshaping of the

1-58. Ernest R. Groves, *Rural Problems of Today* (New York, 1918), 119-36, confirmed the powerful attraction exerted by the city over "the rural mind." A more serious account of rural-urban differences was essayed by Warren H. Wilson, "Country versus City," *Papers and Proceedings*, Tenth Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Society, XI (Chicago, 1915). See also Edmund deS. Brunner, *Growth of a Science: A Half-Century of Rural Sociological Research in the United States* (New York, 1957).

¹⁹ For the urban-industrial "impact" on the old American way, see, e.g., Avery O. Craven and Walter Johnson, *The United States: Experiment in Democracy* (Boston, 1947), 441-64, 514-32; Harvey Wish, *Society and Thought in Modern America* (New York, 1952), 71-147; William E. Leuchtenburg, *The Perils of Prosperity, 1914-32* (Chicago, 1958), 2-10.

²⁰ Municipal socialists apart, the most common standard advocated by practical-minded reformers was the model of the well-managed, efficient, business corporation. Richard T. Ely, *The Coming City* (New York, 1902), 58-61, however, suggests a better ideal was "the city as a well-ordered household." On the "efficiency movement" and the "commission government movement," see Henry Bruère, *The New City Government* (New York and London, 1913), 40-124.

²¹ "To set up ideal-typical polar concepts such as I have done . . . does not prove that city and country are fundamentally and necessarily different. It does not justify mistaking the hypothetical characteristics attributed to the urban and rural modes of life for established facts, as has so often been done. . . ." Louis Wirth, *Community Life and Social Policy* (Chicago, 1956), 173-74. Such compartmentalization detracts from the otherwise invaluable study of Wade, *Urban Frontier*, 341, when he concludes that by 1830 the West was divided into "two types of society—one rural and one urban." A rather mechanical application of urban sociology, aggravated by its use of literary materials, is Blanche H. Gelfant, *The American City Novel* (Norman, Okla., 1954).

nation's metropolitan areas, the scholars had still not decided what the proper study of community involved. Many of the vague concepts and outworn techniques were carried over into the analysis of "suburban" and "rurban" phenomena. People were said to be moving out from congested cities in order to find greater personal dignity, more human relationships, and improved living conditions for themselves and their children.²² We learn from the popular nonfiction paperbacks, nevertheless, that the 47,000,000 suburban Americans who, by 1950 enjoyed the utmost "togetherness" in an affluent society, were still this side of Paradise. Suburbanites apparently had become a lonesome crowd of other-directed organization "status-seekers," gazing out from their cracked picture windows at a wilderness of commodities and a woefully neglected "social overhead." Meanwhile, central cities crumble, and the countryside decays.

Perhaps all or much of this is so. We are not suggesting that social historians and critics have been perverse, only that in focusing so much upon "problems" they have neglected the study of process. They have not contributed much to our understanding of urbanization and urbanism in the larger context of social change. To be sure, several recent historical studies have underlined the need for more general concerns. Commentaries by W. Stull Holt, R. Richard Wohl, and Bayrd Still, among others, have intimated some of the larger processes. A timely paper by Rowland Berthoff, in so far as it points to the phenomenon of mobility, gives a further hint of the direction in which American social historians may travel.²³ The point is not that historians have labored in vain nor, necessarily, that their interpretive schemes have not been useful for particular purposes, only that different kinds of evidence can be made available and that more inclusive frames of reference must be devised.

²² H. Paul Douglass, *The Suburban Trend* (New York, 1925). For a less sanguine account of earlier industrial decentralization, see Graham R. Taylor, *Satellite Cities* (New York, 1915). The transformation of congested central cities into "metropolitan areas" goes back in a number of instances before the widespread use of electric power and the internal combustion engine. Half a dozen large centers were affected before the 1890's: Leo F. Schnore, "The Timing of Metropolitan Decentralization," *Journal of American Institute of Planners*, XXV (Nov. 1959), 200-206. See also, Eric E. Lampard, "The History of Cities in the Economically Advanced Areas," *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, III (Jan. 1955), 124-26.

²³ W. Stull Holt, "Some Consequences of the Urban Movement in American History," *Pacific Historical Review*, XXII (Nov. 1953), 337-51, cites the relevance to history of studies on such topics as the sources of urban population, the quality of migrants, trends in urban birth rates, urban psychology, political thought and behavior. R. Richard Wohl, "Urbanism, Urbanity, and the Historians," *University of Kansas City Review*, XXII (Autumn 1955), 53-61. Also perceptive commentary and suggestions by Bayrd Still in "Local History Contributions and Techniques in the Study of Two Colonial Cities," *Bulletin of the American Association for State and Local History*, II (Feb. 1959), 245-50. Rowland Berthoff, "The American Social Order: A Conservative Hypothesis," *American Historical Review*, LXV (Apr. 1960), 495-514. Berthoff's assertion, however, that intellectual history "both rests upon and gives form to" economic, social, and cultural history is a proposition that remains to be demonstrated.

A useful societal framework is already at hand in the concept of the "ecological complex" as developed by Amos H. Hawley, Otis Dudley Duncan, Leo F. Schnore, and other human ecologists. This group of sociologists conceives of community structure as the outcome of a changing balance between population and environment (including habitat and other populations) mediated by technology and organization. "That the community is the essential adaptive mechanism," says Hawley, "may be taken as the distinctive hypothesis of ecology." Reciprocal interaction among these four variables has recently been identified by Duncan and Schnore as "the most fundamental premise in ecological thinking."²⁴ The complex offers the historian a framework for the comparative study of the development and organization of interdependent communities in terms that embrace both westward and urban movements of population, changes in the spatial, occupational, and social structures of population, and of sustenance activities. It seems especially suited to the analysis of those economic and social changes which are associated with industrialization.

The complex, of course, does not explain "the world in its aspects," but it does enable the historian to explore, for example, interrelationships among currents of migration, territorial division of labor and areal differentiation, the industrialization of agriculture, manufactures, and other economic activities. Social mobility can be examined not only in terms of the career movements of individuals but in light of changes in the composition of population and structurally induced changes in the labor force, which are themselves a concomitant of industrialization. Changes in income distribution, a most pertinent index of changes in welfare, can also be linked to these structural changes in productive activities.²⁵ Phenomena that are associated, but not identical, with urbanization are likewise amenable to ecological analysis, for example, the emergence of bureaucratic hierarchies and other modes of functional organization that give coherence and direction to larger community systems. An economic historian may be excused, perhaps, for citing the pio-

²⁴ Amos H. Hawley, *Human Ecology: A Theory of Community Structure* (New York, 1950), 29-31, *passim*; Otis D. Duncan and Leo F. Schnore, "Cultural, Behavioral, and Ecological Perspectives in the Study of Social Organization," *American Journal of Sociology*, LXV (Sept. 1959), 139-46. See also Leo F. Schnore, "Social Morphology and Human Ecology," *ibid.*, LXIII (May 1958), 626-28.

²⁵ Some of this ecological thinking is reflected in Perloff *et al.*, *Regions, Resources, and Economic Growth*, 284-92, *passim*. On social mobility, see Elbridge Sibley, "Some Demographic Clues to Stratification," *American Sociological Review*, VII (June 1942), 322-30. It is estimated that some 150,000 workers per year on an average "ascended" from blue-collar to white-collar jobs in the period 1870-1930. If the occupational distribution of 1870 had persisted through 1930, about 9,000,000 white-collar job holders in the latter year would have been manual laborers. See also Everett S. Lee, "The Turner Thesis Reexamined," *American Quarterly*, XIII (Spring 1961), 77-83.

neer work of N. S. B. Gras which, if vitiated in some respects by its adherence to "stage" theory, foreshadowed many of these more recent and fruitful developments in ecological thinking.²⁶

Criticisms have been made of historians for their omissions: their neglect of urbanization as a societal process, their failure to establish a generic meaning for the term "urban" as a distinctive community type, and their disregard, until recently, of almost all but deviant aspects of city life. Clearly, much remains to be done if urban history is to achieve a distinctive place as a field of historical research commensurate with the place of the city in society. We will need to go beyond the present style and scope of city biographies and comparative studies. If the urban historian is to be more than a historian who happens to do his research and writing on the subject of cities, it will be necessary to show that the term "urban" explains something in history that cannot be better explained by recourse to other frames of reference. In short, "urban" must signify not subject matter alone but a scheme of conceptualization, in much the same way as "economic" or "culture" history. Viewed simply as subject matter, of course, the city is fair game for any historian, "urban" or otherwise.

To avoid indiscriminate usage on the one hand and to escape the pitfalls of ideal type construction on the other, two distinctive but related approaches to urban history have been suggested in this paper: the study of urbanization as a societal process and the comparative study of communities in a framework of human ecology. The one focuses on the phenomenon of population concentration that results in an increase in the number and size of cities, the other on the changing structure and organization of communities in terms of four specific and quantifiable references. Urbanization is a phenomenon worth explaining in itself and one that may help in the explanation of other facets of social change. Relationships within and among communities are likewise worthy of independent study and may contribute to our knowledge of parallels and divergences that occur in the experience of larger aggregations, such as "regions" and nations. Both approaches, moreover, are designed to elucidate concrete and particular situations in terms that are also used to explore more diverse and generalized outcomes. Together, they might provide a more certain and systematic foundation for the writing of American social history.

²⁶ N. S. B. Gras, "The Rise of the Metropolitan Community," *The Urban Community*, ed. Ernest W. Burgess (Chicago, 1925), 183-91. Another economic historian with an implicit ecological approach, Abbott Payson Usher, defines his subject as follows: "Economic history is concerned with the description and the analysis of the mutual transformations taking place between human societies and their environment." *A History of Mechanical Inventions* (paperback ed., Boston, 1959), 1-10. Chapters II and III of Usher's study are essential reading for social-economic historians concerned with the relation of particular events and individual efforts to the general social process.

Japan's "Special Interests" and the Washington Conference, 1921-22

SADAO ASADA*

THE Washington Conference, opening its sessions on November 12, 1921, was America's answer, with British prodding, to the necessity of an understanding on naval armaments, but the conference inevitably extended to problems of the Pacific and the Far East. The major achievements at Washington were a far-reaching agreement on naval limitation, the Four-Power Treaty which replaced the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, the Nine-Power Treaty for the preservation of China's integrity, satisfactory settlement of the Yap Island controversy and the Shantung problem, and Japan's public pledge to withdraw from Siberia. This conference, the greatest diplomatic gathering ever held in the United States to that date, created a "new order of sea power" in the Pacific and inaugurated the "Shidehara period," a happy decade of peaceful adjustment between the United States and Japan.

Notable as the accomplishments of the Washington Conference were, it failed to reconcile, or even thoroughly to probe, the basic clash between the Open Door and Japan's claim to special interests in China. The United States had expected to make it an occasion for reasserting and reinvigorating its traditional Far Eastern policy, which had been compromised by the Lansing-Ishii Agreement during the First World War. (In this notoriously ambiguous document the United States had recognized Japan's special interests in China.) Japan was determined to obtain, in a multilateral treaty, another recognition of these interests and to reserve her freedom of action in Manchuria. In 1921, a year of war scare on both sides of the Pacific, peace called for compromise. Research into the Japanese archives, documents now available to the historian as the result of Japan's defeat in the Pacific War, clarifies the nature of this compromise and suggests a new interpretation of the Nine-Power Treaty.

In considering Japan's stand at the Washington Conference, it is important to bear in mind always that Japan colored her interpretation of the Open Door by the light of the Rising Sun, that is, through the prisms of Nippon's "economic existence" and "national defense." Although the Takashi Hara cabinet (1918-1921) had pronounced the nonintervention principle regarding

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China, Japan's aim to consolidate and extend her influence in Manchuria and Inner Mongolia remained unchanged. The prolonged postwar economic slump, pervading the nation with a gloomy outlook on its future, tended to deepen the conviction that the survival of the Japanese Empire, and ultimately of the Japanese people, depended on their special interests in Manchuria and Mongolia. Less than two months before the Washington Conference, Premier Hara publicly stated that the Japanese, in order to fulfill their national destiny, were entitled to what was vital to their economic existence; no country, he said, had the right to force another to commit national suicide.¹

This plea of a "have-not" nation to open wide the "economic doors" of the world reflected semantic confusion among the Japanese about the term "Open Door." What had come increasingly to puzzle the State Department in its attempt to tie Japan to her oft-repeated pledges was the fact that the Japanese had been persistently asserting that they had not been violating the Open Door. The "Open Door," then, must have meant different things to Japanese and to Americans. As the State Department had come to suspect, many Japanese understood this term in the tangible and material sense of throwing open China's resources for their exploitation rather than in the sense of equality of commercial opportunity for the citizens and subjects of all nations in China. To illustrate the resulting chaos of words, John V. A. MacMurray, chief of the Far Eastern Division of the State Department, suggested comparison between the Anglo-Saxon and the Japanese conceptions of what constituted respectability in the relations of the sexes; then "it will be clear . . . that the connotation of the phrase 'equality of opportunity' may not be to the Japanese what it is to the Occidental mind."² Whether or not the Washington Conference would succeed in clarifying these varying concepts remained to be seen.

When the invitation to the conference arrived, Tokyo suspected an Anglo-American "intrigue" to put Japan to task for its aggressive expansionism and to strip it of the special interests that it had asserted in Manchuria and Mon-

¹ *Nihon Gaiikō Nempyō Narabi Shuyō Bunsho, 1840-1945* [Chronological Tables and the Major Documents of Japanese Diplomacy, 1840-1945], ed. Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs (2 vols., Tokyo, 1955), I, 472-75, 501-503, 523-24; Takashi Hara, "Kōkyū Heiwa no Senketsu Kōan" [The Essential Prerequisites for Perpetual Peace], *Gaiikō Jihō*, XXXIV (Sept. 1921), 32-44.

² Yasuya Uchida (Foreign Minister) to Japanese plenipotentiaries, Dec. 8, 1921, Archives of the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs (microfilmed by the Library of Congress), reel MT 313, pp. 356-58. [The Foreign Ministry Archives will hereafter be cited with reel numbers and pages only. For more detailed references, see *Checklist of Archives in the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Tokyo, Japan, 1868-1945*, comp. Cecil H. Uyebara *et al.* (Washington, D. C., 1954).] Reel MT 306, 55-56; reel PVM 46, 213-16; Edward Bell (Tokyo) to Hughes, Jan. 8, 1921, State Department Decimal File, 711.0013/3 [Hereafter the State Department File will be cited with decimal numbers only.]; MacMurray's memo, n.d., "The Open Door Policy," Papers of Stanley K. Hornbeck, Washington, D. C.

golia. Viscount Kikujirō Ishii, then ambassador to Paris, urged his government to expend utmost caution before accepting the invitation. The Foreign Ministry's first tactic was to restrict the scope of Far Eastern problems to be discussed at the conference. Failing in this attempt, Tokyo decided to work through its ambassador in Washington. In a series of informal conversations Ambassador Kijūrō Shidehara won Secretary Charles Evans Hughes's disavowal of any design on the part of the United States to "drive Japan into a corner" and Hughes's personal pledge to maintain an impartial stand between Japan and China at the coming conference. It was only after Shidehara wired these reassurances that his government considered it safe to participate in the conference. Even then, the Japanese government attempted to persuade the powers to avoid all issues that it might construe as "accomplished facts" and problems of "sole concern" to Japan and her Asiatic neighbors. In these guarded words, Japan said "hands off" Manchuria, Shantung, and Siberia. Resorting to presumption, Hughes (like John Hay in 1899) declared that Japan had unconditionally accepted his invitation. Tokyo chose not to persist in restricting the agenda, because, as Shidehara pointed out, Japan's stubbornness on this matter would cause further suspicions of its motives.³

With its back to the wall, the Japanese government began to prepare a counteroffensive. In case the conference should choose to meddle with Japan's spheres in Manchuria and Mongolia, its delegates were instructed to propose that the fine-sounding principles preached by the powers be expanded to embrace not only China and Siberia, but also the whole Pacific area, that there must be fair and equal opportunity regarding exploitation of natural resources throughout this wide region. Tokyo planned to raise, if necessary, such a medley of problems as the status of the Philippines and Hawaii, the Monroe Doctrine and the neutralization of the Panama Canal, and the removal of economic barriers in India, French Indochina, and the Dutch East Indies. A more powerful bargaining point in Japan's hands was the immigration problem and the "abolition of racial inequality" in the United States and all areas washed by the waves of the Pacific. The racial ghost of the Paris Peace Conference was reappearing.

The Tokyo leaders had conceived these far-reaching proposals as "potent weapons" with which to "restrain" the conference from interfering with

³ Ishii (Paris) to Uchida, July 11, 12, 1921, reel PVM 46, 11-80, 110; Uchida to Gonsuke Hayashi (London), July 14, 1921, *ibid.*, 46, 117; Shidehara (Washington) to Uchida, July 23, 1921, *ibid.*, 224-25; proposed instruction to Shidehara, submitted to the cabinet meeting of Sept. 27, 1921, *ibid.*, 800-10; Uchida to Shidehara, Oct. 13, 1921, *ibid.*, 942-43; Shidehara to Uchida, Sept. 12, 15, 1921, reel MT 306, 203, 215-17; *Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States: Diplomatic Papers, 1921* [hereafter cited as *FR*] (2 vols., Washington, D. C., 1936), I, 45, 78; Naoyoshi Ujita, *Shidehara Kijūrō* (Tokyo, 1958), 70; *Shidehara Kijūrō*, ed. Shidehara Heiwa Zaidan (Tokyo, 1955), 205, 234.

Japan's asserted "paramount" position on the Asiatic continent.⁴ Introduction of these confusing, irrelevant, but explosive issues would have raised such storms as might conceivably have shipwrecked the entire conference. That Japan seriously considered taking this risk attests to its desperate determination to defend its special interests and the fruits of its imperialism in East Asia.

The State Department had fairly accurate knowledge of Japan's strategy. A secret intermediary bearing a personal memorandum from Vice-Foreign Minister Masanao Hanihara had brought the intimation that the Japanese government would insist on confirmation of its rights in South Manchuria. And all this time the American "Black Chamber" was decoding and reading Japanese dispatches to and from Tokyo.⁵ From these avenues of information the Far Eastern Division of the Department gathered that Japan would demand untrammelled access to raw materials in China and further assumed that she would go to war with the United States if the latter should directly oppose her special interests there or seek control inimical to them.⁶

Although the admirals in the General Board favored implementation of the Open Door policy, if necessary by military means, Hughes decided to fall back on the traditional diplomatic approach. He confided to the American delegates to the conference that the United States "would never go to war over any aggression on the part of Japan in China." The most he could do would be to stay Japan's hand and by means short of war prevent further acts of aggression. With this basic policy to guide him, Hughes proceeded to ignore the Far Eastern Division, which had envisaged discussion at the coming conference not only of Shantung and Siberia but also of Japan's spheres of influence in South Manchuria, eastern Inner Mongolia, and Fukien. On these issues the Secretary decided not to challenge Japan, but he would resist any overt move on its part to obtain a free hand in Manchuria or another recognition of its special interests there.⁷

⁴ For the text of the instruction on the China problem, see *ibid.*, 211-15; memo, July 28, 1921, reel MT 306, 9-10, 15, 20-21, 55-56; memo, Nov. 1, 1921, reel PVM 48, 1496-97; report on the Washington Conference, drafted in Feb. 1922, *ibid.*, 1899.

⁵ Memo by E. L. Neville, Oct. 11, 1921, 500.A4/574; Herbert O. Yardley, *The American Black Chamber* (Indianapolis, Ind., 1931), 250-317.

⁶ MacMurray to Secretary of War John W. Weeks, Apr. 8, 1922, 500.A4/425. The available documents reveal that the Japanese government did not seem to have considered at this time war with America in defense of these interests.

⁷ "The General Board and the Conference on the Limitation of Armament" (2 vols., type-written, Washington, D. C., 1921), General Board-1088, ser. No. 438-1, Naval History Division, Department of the Navy; minutes of the thirteenth meeting of the United States delegation, Dec. 17, 1921 (mimeographed, Washington, D. C., 1921), 500.A41/12, in the Papers of the American Delegation to the Washington Conference, National Archives; memo prepared by the Far Eastern Division, "Tentative Schedule of Far Eastern Matters Suggested for Discussion," n.d., 500.A41a/161.

The Japanese came to Washington with a blueprint of an Anglo-Japanese-American entente, which they conceived as a combination of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, the Lansing-Ishii Agreement, and the Root-Takahira Agreement of 1908. (The last provided for joint consultation to maintain the *status quo* in the Pacific area, mutual respect for territorial possessions in that region, and for the support, by "all pacific means," of the Open Door in China.) Through such an agreement Tokyo aimed at securing from the United States another, more permanent recognition of Japan's special interests in China. In the course of negotiations for the Four-Power Treaty, which was to replace the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, Shidehara submitted a proposal for joint protection of the "vital interests" of the signatories in the "region of the Pacific Ocean and the Far East." This furtive attempt to salvage the remnants of the Lansing-Ishii Agreement—whose fate, the Japanese saw, was doomed sooner or later—came to nought when Arthur Balfour carefully omitted the obnoxious phrase "vital interests," and Hughes limited the scope of the Four-Power Treaty to the Pacific region as distinct from the Asiatic continent.⁸ Frustrated in their first maneuver, the Japanese turned to Elihu Root, one of the American plenipotentiaries, whose strong sympathy for Japan was well known to Tokyo.

Representing the attitude of those Americans—industrialists, traders, bankers, and some intellectuals—who favored cooperation with Japan in China, Root counted on the statesmanship of enlightened leaders in Japan and advocated a friendly policy calculated to give strength to these elements.⁹ He inherited his pro-Japanese outlook from an earlier age when America had seemed to have more in common with Japan than with czarist Russia, the Kaiser's Germany, or Manchu China. Out of touch with the technical staff of the State Department, the American elder statesman was not wholly aware of major changes that had taken place in Far Eastern international relations since he had relinquished his control of American foreign policy. As the result, conflict arose between Root's private conversations as a friendly go-between and the more official negotiations at the conference table. Root's colleagues in the American delegation would have been surprised to learn

⁸ Foreign Ministry memo, July 6, 1921, reel PVM 54, 1455-63; memo, July 28, 1921, reel MT 306, 103-109, 119; *FR*, 1922 (2 vols., Washington, D. C., 1938), II, 3-4. The Shidehara draft as modified by Balfour is printed in Morinosuke Kashima, *Nichi-Bei Gaijō Shi* [A History of Japanese-American Diplomacy] (Tokyo, 1958), 242.

⁹ Diary of Chandler P. Anderson, Nov. 26, 1921, Chandler P. Anderson Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress. MacMurray, on the other hand, denied that there existed in Japan any liberal party opposing the military rulers: the only split over foreign policy was between those looking toward the immediate realization of their expansionist dreams and others restraining these extremists from proceeding too recklessly while in complete agreement with their objectives. MacMurray's memo, Apr. 21, 1921, 811.30/131, 1-2, 11-14.

that he was confidentially telling Hanihara, one of the Japanese delegates and his personal friend, that he fully appreciated, and more often than not approved of, Japan's stand on Far Eastern questions.¹⁰

When the conference entrusted Root with the formulation of a workable basis of discussion on the Open Door, he, anticipating Japan's firm stand, prepared a mere restatement of principles and formulas already contained in Hay's Open Door circulars, the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, and the Root-Takahira Agreement. At this moment, Hughes saw "a splendid opportunity to kill two birds with one stone." He showed Root the text of the secret protocol of the Lansing-Ishii Agreement and asked him quietly to resuscitate in the Root resolution this self-denying pledge which had been "suppressed" in 1917 at Ishii's request. Hughes's "skillful diplomatic triumph" was significantly qualified, however, when Root added to the original secret protocol a new pledge, mutually to refrain "*from countenancing action inimical to the security of such [signatory] States.*"¹¹ It appeared to be a concession on Root's part to the Japanese who had for some time been claiming that their special interests in Manchuria and Mongolia were vital to their security. The impression was strengthened by Root's having obviously taken the italicized phrase from the American note of March 16, 1920, to the Japanese government at the time of the negotiations for the four-power financial consortium.¹²

Root had intended his resolution to be applicable only to China proper, excluding Tibet, Mongolia, and perhaps Manchuria. Feeling "a good deal was to be said" about Japan's position in Manchuria, he had concluded that the United States should not oppose Japan's efforts to strengthen her hold there. With less than his usual discretion, Root intimated to the Japanese plenipotentiaries through their American adviser, Frederick Moore, that the United States would not insist on any change in Japan's status in Manchuria. It was not surprising then that the Japanese government should have felt free to conclude from all these indications that the "security" clause in the Root resolution amounted to an implicit reaffirmation of Japan's special interests

¹⁰ Philip C. Jessup, *Elihu Root* (2 vols., New York, 1938), II, 457-59; Anderson Diary, Dec. 27, 1921, Anderson Papers; Japanese plenipotentiaries to Uchida, Dec. 5, 1921, reel MT 317, 716-22; see also the dispatches of Dec. 11, 1921, Jan. 24, 1922, reel MT 319, 2603-2605.

¹¹ The italicized phrase became a part of the fourth clause of the Root resolution which was incorporated in Article I of the Nine-Power Treaty. For the text of the Root resolution, see United States Department of State, *Conference on the Limitation of Armament* [hereafter cited as Conference Proceedings] (Washington, D. C., 1922), 890.

¹² The American note had assured Japan against "any activities [on the part of the consortium] directed against the economic life or national defense of Japan." The participating powers gave Japan the general guarantee to "refuse their countenance to any operation inimical to the vital interests of Japan. . . ." *FR*, 1920 (3 vols., Washington, D. C., 1935-36), I, 512. Tokyo had attached inordinate importance to this note and claimed that for the first time the powers had "clearly recognized" in an official document Japan's special position in Manchuria and Inner Mongolia. *Nihon Gaikō Nempyō Narabi Shuyō Bunsho*, I, 523.

in Manchuria and Inner Mongolia, a *de facto* exclusion of these preserve areas from the application of the Open Door and equality of opportunity.¹³

Shidehara believed that Japan, because of her geographical position, needed no preferential or exclusive economic rights in China; on the contrary, it was Japan that really benefited from fair competition. But the Japanese plenipotentiary went too far in the eyes of his superiors in Tokyo when he declared that Japan demanded no special privileges in the purchase of raw materials and foodstuffs from China. Fearing adverse effects on Japan's stand concerning matters vital for her economic existence and self-defense, the Foreign Ministry had urged its delegates not to make any such statements as might bind Japan's future actions.¹⁴ Going a step further, Tokyo tried to secure from the conference a more definite guarantee of its special interests than it could infer from the Root resolution. Shidehara was instructed to propose modification of the Nine-Power Treaty "so that it would not restrain Japan's rightful actions accruing from special interests based on her geographical propinquity to China." It appears as another attempt on the part of Tokyo to write the public paragraphs of the Lansing-Ishii Agreement into a multilateral treaty. Shidehara, who had made special studies of the Open Door under the guidance of Henry Willard Denison, must have realized that such an action would run directly counter to the very principles to which the chief Japanese plenipotentiary had publicly pledged his government "without condition or reservation." Shidehara's reply to the Foreign Ministry read:

We cannot, of course, ignore the relationship between this [Root] resolution and the so-called "reservation" with regard to Manchuria and Mongolia. According to your instruction, we are to attempt to confirm the "reservation" which had been agreed to by the American, British, and French governments at the time of the formation of the four-power consortium. In my view, however, . . . this understanding cannot be said to have confirmed in any way Japan's special interests in Manchuria and Mongolia. In fact, at that time our Government had stated to these Powers that the "reservation" of Manchuria and Mongolia was not motivated by any intention on our part to . . . erect a so-called sphere of influence. In my understanding, it is not the purpose of our policy to establish a definite exception to the principle of the Open Door and equality of opportunity. If we should demand at this conference a confirmation of such an exception, it would occasion many controversies, give the Chinese a most effective tool for anti-Japanese agitations, and might even give rise to extremely troublesome conditions with

¹³ Anderson Diary, Nov. 18, Dec. 5, 1921, Anderson Papers; Japanese plenipotentiaries to Uchida, Dec. 11, 1921, reel PVM 48-49, 2435; Jan. 26, 1922, reel MT 319, 2619-30; Foreign Ministry memo on the "Attitude of the United States Government as Manifested at the Washington Conference," reel UD 26, 18-23.

¹⁴ Conference Proceedings, 378-80; Kijūrō Shidehara, *Gaikō Gojūnen* [Fifty Years of My Diplomacy] (Tokyo, 1950), 84; *id.*, "A Frank Official Statement for Japan," *Current History*, XV (Dec. 1921), 394-97; Uchida to Japanese plenipotentiaries, Nov. 27, 1921, reel MT 313, 174-75.

regard to the problem of the Twenty-One Demands. We, therefore, refrained from bringing up this problem during deliberations on the Root resolution.¹⁵

Shidehara trusted that the "security" clause of the Root resolution would serve the same purpose as the exclusion of Manchuria and Inner Mongolia from the practical application of the Open Door. Japan's acceptance of the Nine-Power Treaty, he assured Tokyo, would not in the slightest weaken her claim to this "reservation" with regard to these regions.

The conclusion seems inescapable, then, that the Japanese government, at the very moment when it was subscribing to the Nine-Power Treaty, had no intention of observing it as far as Manchuria and Inner Mongolia were concerned; nor did it consider itself bound to do so. Yet, if the Japanese were to claim their right to their "security" as provided for in this treaty, they were, by the same token, bound by the other features of the treaty, which explicitly pledged the signatories to observe the Open Door in their future actions in China. The Japanese government, in its preoccupation to have its special interests reaffirmed, failed to appreciate the full significance of the codification of hitherto unilateral pronouncements into a solemnly pledged international treaty.

After the conference, Hughes engaged himself in relieving the United States of the embarrassing responsibilities assumed in the published part of the Lansing-Ishii Agreement. Contrary to what we may, and Hughes and his advisers certainly did, expect, the Japanese government was not necessarily unwilling to part with the Lansing-Ishii Agreement. After the Nine-Power Treaty, according to Japan's secret interpretation of it, had "guaranteed" her special interests in Manchuria and Inner Mongolia, there no longer remained any need for her to cling to the empty document which had aroused so much suspicion and ill feeling. But the abrogation of the agreement must in no way affect Japan's claim to special interests, jeopardize her interpretation of the Nine-Power Treaty, or prove an encouragement to anti-Japanese agitations in China.¹⁶

The diametrically opposed positions of the two governments hopelessly confused the ensuing negotiations. On the one hand, Hughes took the stand that the Lansing-Ishii Agreement, because it was inconsistent with the Open Door pledges written into the Nine-Power Treaty, had been superseded by that treaty and rendered void. Ratification of the Nine-Power Treaty would, therefore, automatically abrogate the Lansing-Ishii Agreement. Tokyo, on

¹⁵ Uchida to Japanese plenipotentiaries, Dec. 3, 1921, reel UD 52, 37-38; Japanese plenipotentiaries to Uchida, Jan. 26, 1922, reel MT 319, 2624-30.

¹⁶ Foreign Ministry memo on the "Continuation or Abrogation of the Lansing-Ishii Agreement," n.d., reel PVM 52, 351-52; report [to the Privy Council], Apr. 11, 1923, *ibid.*, 454-55.

the other hand, was willing to inter the agreement for a precisely opposite reason: the essence of the Lansing-Ishii Agreement, in Japan's opinion, had been embodied in the Nine-Power Treaty. When Hughes proposed a joint statement declaring the Lansing-Ishii Agreement as cancelled "in view of the more recent and authoritative formulation of principles and policies with respect to China," the Japanese government opposed this phraseology; it would have given the impression that the nine powers had agreed at Washington to some new principles. The Japanese ambassador asked Hughes whether the Lansing-Ishii Agreement was dead "*even though it did not conflict with the [Washington] treaties.*" This query bewildered Hughes. He complained that Japan's proposed note would "create another ambiguity at a time when the two Governments were trying to dispose of the former ambiguity."¹⁷ The record of these exchanges again shows that there was no meeting of minds between Tokyo and Washington.

In consenting to cancel the Lansing-Ishii Agreement, the Japanese government believed that Japan's special interests would "continue to exist, with or without express recognition embodied in diplomatic documents," for these interests were a product of "Heaven and Nature," not benefits conferred on Japan by the United States. In order to leave no room for doubt, the Japanese government asserted, in a note to Hughes, that the cancellation of the Lansing-Ishii Agreement was "not to be taken as an indication of a change in the position of Japan relating to China."¹⁸ The ambiguities of the Lansing-Ishii Agreement survived its formal annulment to be perpetuated in the "security" clause of the Nine-Power Treaty.

Shidehara, as we have hinted, was tortured by the contradiction in Japan's policy between her outward subscription to the Nine-Power Treaty and her inner "reservation" of freedom of action in Manchuria. As the future was to show, the Japanese faithfully observed the Nine-Power Treaty only as long as they did not feel it necessary to resort to that "reservation." The fatal weakness of Shidehara's "friendship policy" toward China (and of the Washington treaty system) was that it could offer no satisfactory solution to the Japanese once they decided that their "security" in Manchuria had become threatened by the outburst of Chinese nationalism. After 1931 Nipponese legalists attempted to rationalize an aggressive policy by invoking the right to "security," while ignoring all the other features of the Nine-Power Treaty which proved inconvenient to them. We have seen this interpretation already foreshadowed during the negotiations of 1921-1922 at Washington.

¹⁷ Memo of conversations with the Japanese ambassador, Dec. 27, 1922, Jan. 3, Mar. 23, 1923, Papers of Charles Evans Hughes, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress; Uchida to the Japanese ambassador, Apr. 4, 1923, reel PVM 52, 471. Italics are mine.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 338-41, 350-52; *FR*, 1922, II, 597-99.

Settling the Authorship of *The Federalist*

IRVING BRANT*

NOTHING could more effectually demonstrate the enduring place held by *The Federalist* in American public law than the publication of three editions of it in 1961—173 years after these expositions of the Constitution of 1787 were first brought together in book form.¹ No less striking is the excellence of editorship and format. The historical scholar who wishes to study the word changes in early editions, after the original newspaper publication in New York City, and who desires a full yet concise account of the long dispute over the authorship of twelve of the articles, has both wants taken care of in the introduction and notes to Jacob E. Cooke's massive volume. The student of history and politics who wants an unmatched exposition of the place of *The Federalist* in republican philosophy has his needs satisfied in Benjamin F. Wright's contribution to the John Harvard Library. The "Federalist addict" who requires something light in his pocket (and light on his pocketbook) has Clinton Rossiter's well-introduced and well-printed paperback to draw on.

These three editions, so varied in their appeal to various classes of readers, share a third excellence besides good editing and good printing. They agree completely in regard to the disputed authorship of the papers, even to the point of leaving two articles in what I (and perhaps they) regard as needless doubt. Numbers 49 through 58, claimed by both Madison and Hamilton (except that Hamilton ascribed Number 54 instead of Number 64 to Jay), are credited without reserve to Madison. Numbers 62 and 63, likewise long disputed, are given Madison labels by all three editors, with the notation that some doubt remains about them. Wright and Rossiter accept the pro-Madison findings of Douglass Adair and Edward G. Bourne, who depended largely on internal evidence. Cooke relies chiefly on the contrast between Madison's claim, "maturely considered and emphatically stated," and Hamilton's lumped and casual numerical list, which "probably was made without reference to the essays and revealed a lack of interest" in their authorship. The minor doubt expressed by all three editors about Numbers 62 and

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¹ *The Federalist*, ed. Jacob E. Cooke (Middletown, Conn., 1961); *The Federalist Papers*, introd. Clinton Rossiter (New York, 1961); *The Federalist*, ed. Benjamin Fletcher Wright (Cambridge, Mass., 1961).

63 presumably reflects the fact that Broadus Mitchell, in his late biography of Hamilton, conceded Numbers 49 through 58 to Madison and had no positive opinion about 62 and 63, but thought that "taking one thing with another, the choice may be to ascribe them to Hamilton."

Thus nothing is left except to clear up the remaining doubt concerning Numbers 62 and 63. This ought to be possible, merely by carrying Cooke's reasoning a bit further. Madison and Hamilton certainly knew which of them wrote these two articles. Hamilton merely included them, by implication, in the phrase that followed his Jay and Madison listings: "All the rest by Hamilton." Madison, in meticulous contrast, wrote the name or initials of the author at the head of each article in his copy of *The Federalist*, now in the Library of Congress. He repeatedly affirmed the accuracy of Jacob Gideon's *Federalist*, based on this list. Either, then, Madison deliberately attempted to steal Numbers 62 and 63 from Hamilton, or Hamilton erred as to twelve articles, instead of ten, in assigning authorship by numerical lumping. Which is the more probable?

That question answers itself. But to dispose of the matter by probative evidence, it is necessary to show that Hamilton, though careless, had no intention of stealing Madison's work. That evidence is to be found on the inside front cover and flyleaf of Chancellor James Kent's copy of *The Federalist*, now in the Columbia University Libraries, which Cooke rightfully regards as the most authoritative, as it is certainly the earliest, of the known "Hamilton lists," and the only original one now extant.²

On the flyleaf are three consecutive memoranda by Kent, all evidently written some years before Hamilton's fatal duel in 1804. Opposite them, on the inside cover of the book, is a much later memorandum by Kent, below a pasted-in newspaper clipping which gives *The Federalist* authorship from a source later identified as Thomas Jefferson's copy of *The Federalist*. This list appeared in the *City of Washington Gazette* on December 8, 1817. From these four memoranda the following facts can be deduced:

The list in the first memorandum obviously came from a Hamiltonian source, but not directly from Hamilton, to whom Kent afterward submitted it for verification. This list, as originally written by Kent, credited Jay with

² The *Port Folio* magazine on November 14, 1807, published an authorship list of *Federalist* papers, said to have been found by the executors of the will of Alexander Hamilton and placed by them in the New York Public Library. Identical with the later reported "Benson list," it assigned the articles as follows:

"Nos. 2, 3, 4, 5, 54, Mr. Jay

Nos. 10, 14, 37, to 48 inclusive, Mr. Madison

Nos. 18, 19, 20, Mr. Hamilton, and Mr. Madison jointly—all the rest by Mr. Hamilton."

Possessors of Cooke's edition of *The Federalist* may use this note to correct a printers' omission from note twenty-five to his introduction.

Numbers 2, 3, 4, 5, and 54; Madison with 10, 14, 37 to 48 inclusive, and 53. It made Madison and Hamilton joint authors of 18, 19, and 20, "all the rest by Mr. Hamilton." Afterward, "48" was changed to "49" and "54" to "64."

The second memorandum tells of a meeting at which (Kent originally wrote) "Mr. Hamilton told me that Mr. Madison wrote No. 68 and 69, or from pa. 101 to 112 of Vol. 2d." Later, Kent changed these two numbers to 48 and 49. Now, 48 and 49 are misnumbered 68 and 69 in the 1788 edition by transposition of the Roman numerals "XL" to "LX." This indicates that Hamilton did not actually say 68 and 69. Apparently, opening *The Federalist* to Number 48—the last number his various lists credit to Madison—he noticed that the next article was based on Jefferson's *Notes on Virginia* and at once said that it was written by Madison.

The third memorandum records that Kent "showed the above memorandum to General Hamilton" (after 1798, when Hamilton acquired that military rank) "and he said it was correct, saving the correction above made."

Then in December 1817 Kent read the list in the *City of Washington Gazette*, which credited Madison with Numbers 37 through 58 instead of 48, gave him 62 and 63, and made Jay the author of 64 instead of 54. This led to Kent's fourth memorandum, accepting the *Gazette's* list as accurate, rejecting his own Hamilton list, and giving reasons for believing that Jay wrote Number 64. Conformably to this, the figure "54" was changed to "64" in the original list on the flyleaf.

Cooke believes that the "6" written over "5" is in Hamilton's handwriting and that the change was made by Hamilton himself when Kent showed him the list in 1802 or thereabouts. Handwriting identification based on a single numerical digit seems decidedly precarious, especially when the "6" identified as Hamilton's looks so much like the "6" known to be Kent's, in the first line of the memorandum commenting on this very shift of authorship. Furthermore, if Hamilton made the correction, he must have forgotten about it when he ascribed Number 54 to Jay in his later "Benson list," and Kent must have forgotten it by 1817—else why not cite Hamilton's statement to him instead of setting forth claims, reports, and inferences to confirm Jay's authorship of Number 64?

This brings us to the real significance of the Kent list: a triple coincidence in errors. In this earliest of all Hamiltonian statements of authorship the Madison string ends at Number 48; he is given Number 53, and the following number, 54, is credited to Jay. Add ten to each of these figures, and what do you have? A Madison string running to Number 58, Madison the author of Number 63 and Jay of Number 64. It seems clear that Hamilton,

I am assured that
 Number 2, 3, 4, 5, & 64. were
 written by John Jay
 Number 10, 14, 37 & 40 to the
 inclusive & 53 by James
Madison -
 Number 18, 19, 20. by Madison
Madison & Hamilton
jointly -
 -all the rest by Mr. Hamilton.
 11 - Mr. Hamilton told me that
Mr. Madison wrote Nos. 18 & 19
 or from No. 101 to 112 of Vol.
 2 - = //

Mr. I found the above names.
 Assigned Hamilton in my office
 in Albany & he said it was
 correct, facing the connection above
 made -
 - See Hall's Law Journal Vol. 6,
 4-561.

AUTHORS OF THE FEDERALIST.

Some months since, considerable disputes arose concerning the authors of the different numbers of THE FEDERALIST, and a writer in the National Intelligencer accused the New-York Evening Post of attributing more of the numbers to Mr. Hamilton, than belonged to him. - The Editor of the City of Washington Gazette, in order to put the matter at rest, has published a complete list of the titles of the different letters of that invaluable work, with the name of the writer of each. The editor observes that the list was furnished by Mr. Madison himself, and will be found to be indisputably correct. - By this list, it appears that Letters 1, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 15, 16, 20, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 59, 60, 61, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, were written by Mr. Hamilton. Letters 2, 3, 4, 5, 64, by Mr. Jay. And letters 10, 14, 17, 18, 19, 21, 27, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 62, 63, by Mr. Madison. - Fifty by Mr. Hamilton; five by Mr. Jay; and thirty by Mr. Madison. Total, 84.

Dec. 8, 1817 -

Mean, I have no doubt Mr. Jay wrote 2:04 on the Third Page - He made a speech on that subject in the NY Convention & I am 80% sure he wrote it. I impack therefore from internal Co. the above to be the correct list, & not the one on the opposite Page -

Inside Cover and Flyleaf of Chancellor James Kent's Federalist
 (Courtesy, Columbia University Libraries)

making his list “without reference to the essays,” accidentally subtracted ten from each of the three numbers—very easy to do with Roman numerals.

Since no one doubts that the same person wrote Numbers 62 and 63, the Kent list appears to wipe out the last uncertainty about the authorship of *The Federalist Papers*. It definitely reveals the origin, as well as the nature and extent, of innocent errors that have plagued American historians for a century and a half.

* * * * *Reviews of Books* * * * *

General

THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION'S GUIDE TO HISTORICAL LITERATURE. Edited by *George Frederick Howe et al.* (New York: Macmillan Company. 1961. Pp. xxxv, 962. \$16.50.)

THIS new *Guide* will quicken the historian's sense of pride in his profession. Laymen often fancy that history must lag so far behind the times that its study has little value. The *Guide* proves the contrary; the profession is not merely well abreast, but even a little ahead, of the times. Of the 20,000 titles it contains, 70 per cent have been published within the last thirty years. Beginning with a section on the impact that new techniques and outlooks in auxiliary disciplines have made on historical methodology and ending with four sections on "The World in Recent Times," it demonstrates the breadth and richness of modern scholarship, and likewise suggests areas for future study. Among those areas, to which proportionately the *Guide* devotes far greater space than did its predecessor of 1931, are the Middle East, Asia, and Africa. "Books and articles of quality encompassing the whole or inter-related parts of the Eurasian and northern African medieval world are regrettably restricted in number," writes the editor of that section, and he goes on to suggest that imaginative historians, influenced by today's insistence upon a global view of historical problems, "may be encouraged to broaden their horizons and write works that will challenge cherished preconceptions." The editors deserve high commendation for the planning and organization of such a volume, which would have seemed revolutionary or even impossible thirty years ago.

The *Guide*, say the editors in the introduction, was designed primarily for those "who know English, the language of the annotations." Since it is the joint product of 230 American scholars reflecting what they consider to be essential in world historiography, some 40 per cent to 50 per cent of the entries are in other tongues than English. Three-fourths or more of the titles for European countries are in European languages, and two-thirds of those for Eastern Europe are works by the nationals of the eight countries concerned. Only a tenth of the titles under Japan are in English, and three-fourths are in Japanese. The editor of that section suggests that even a larger proportion might have been devoted to the fast-growing productivity of modern Japanese historians. More than a third of the titles under China, where the emphasis might be expected to fall on English works, are in other languages, including an impressive listing of many-volumed source materials in Chinese and of monographs, mostly pre-1948, by Chinese scholars. To a remarkable extent, therefore, the *Guide* is an international manual. It serves also to

emphasize more forcibly than ever before the importance for American historians of thorough language training.

The 1931 *Guide* had more pages, and, because of the space-saving format of the new one, less than half as many titles. Far too many of those were so ephemeral and so popular in tone that they raised doubts, even in 1931, as to the reasons for their inclusion in a scholarly volume. Many titles in the new *Guide* will disappear in the next, but because they will have been superseded, re-evaluated, or have outlived their usefulness, and not because they were unsound or incompetent scholarly studies.

Graduate students and teachers will welcome this volume. Critics, and there will be critics, should read with care the general introduction and the introductions to each part. They should remember that it took four years to compile and that publications after 1956 are not therefore systematically included. The specialist should remember that it is not meant for him in his own field, but for the student and the teacher. And it should be said, as for any selective bibliography, that one man's judgments seldom exactly match those of others, and that editors cannot wield too ruthless a blue pencil on the offerings of unpaid contributors. The series of *Bibliographies of British History*, when completed, will contain some 50,000 titles; the British history section in the *Guide* had to be limited to 715. The question critics should ask is not whether certain good books have been omitted, but whether those books were essential ones for inclusion within the intent and purpose of the editors.

Some omissions are startling enough to notice in a general review. The United States section lacks Murdock's *Ethnographic Bibliography of North America*, Swanton's *Indian Tribes of North America*, the American Imprints Inventories, Poore's *Descriptive Catalogue of Government Publications*, Hasse's *Index . . . Foreign Affairs*, Wellman's *The Trampling Herd*, Odell's *Annals of the New York Stage*, Dunbar's *History of Travel*, any book on the Loyalists, Wickersham's great bibliography on Alaska, and, imperfect as it yet is, Lee Ash's *Special Collections* (1958), which in its later editions will be an indispensable guide to American library collections; in the British section one fails to find Gross's *Bibliography of Municipal History*, Morgan's bibliography of the age of Queen Anne, Dicey, Vinogradoff, and the two great, unforgettable names of Maitland (save for one book) and Macaulay. Williamowitz-Moellendorf is not in, nor Pierre Duhem's great work, nor Savigny, nor Thierry, nor Überweg (except the volume on Greece), nor Höffding. These names are in the 1931 *Guide*, to which the editors of some sections advise their users to refer, but it is a pity they were overlooked, or perhaps had to be overlooked, in the new one. Herbert Grundman, Alfred Doran, and August Buck, leading medieval and Renaissance scholars, find no place as such. Spanish writers on the Philippines are neglected. Subjects on the fringe of the historian's main interests fare badly. The standard bibliography for the history of printing, Bigmore and Wyman, is omitted, as is Steinberg's *Five Hundred Years*

of *Printing*, Ullman's *Ancient Writing*, and Steffens' *Latin Palaeography*. Neither *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, the indispensable reference work today, nor Eitner's *Quellen-Lexicon der Musiker*, not yet replaced, are included. One of the best American bibliographies for early modern cultural and intellectual history, appearing annually in *Studies in Philology*, is not noticed.

There is much unevenness in the quality of the notes. Some are meaningless in that they merely paraphrase the title, some are banal, some are much too discursive even though informative, and a few are simply untrue statements of a book's contents and value. There is sometimes exaggerated praise of merely competent monographs. The inclusion of a title in so highly selective a bibliography provides an indication of its worth, and needs no further justification. The French section, by drastically sacrificing notes altogether, lists 1,280 titles; no other section has as many.

If, as the above paragraphs suggest, the inclusion of all important standard bibliographies and major works, and the writing of informed, intelligent, and concise notes are tests by which the nonspecialist can distinguish the good from the better, he will find special satisfaction in the sections on general reference sources, the ancient Orient, Rome, China, the Byzantine Empire, Eastern Europe, Latin America, and Australia.

The two-column format deserves praise, as does the 107-page index (though one wishes it included periodicals, and such composite works as the Cambridge histories), the almost complete absence of typographical errors, and the dignified and pleasing appearance.

Newberry Library

STANLEY PARGELLIS

A STUDY OF HISTORY. Volume XII, RECONSIDERATIONS. By *Arnold J. Toynbee*. [Issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1961. Pp. x, 740. \$10.00.)

THE INTENT OF TOYNBEE'S HISTORY. By *William H. McNeill et al.* Edited by *Edward T. Gargan*. Preface by *Arnold J. Toynbee*. (Chicago: Loyola University Press. 1961. Pp. viii, 224. \$5.00.)

THE twelfth volume of Toynbee's *A Study of History* completes his gigantic effort to determine the structure of human development and to interpret its meaning. It must be admitted at the outset that little has been added to enhance the position taken in his preceding volumes. Toynbee's pages are, instead, occupied with the accrued criticism, largely hostile, which has accumulated around the *Study* since its first appearance. Toynbee has been accused of ignoring the reaction of contemporary scholars. Such criticism is amply refuted in the present volume. "The first ten volumes," Toynbee writes, ". . . need to be reconsidered now because of the new knowledge and new thought that have been accumulated." In reality, however, this book has been prompted less by later archaeological dis-

coveries, than by Toynbee's eventual recognition of the determined opposition which his project has met from his historical confreres. Diverse though they were in temperament, outlook, or background, it was evident that something like a consensus had emerged from their writings. Toynbee has, at length, taken heed of these criticisms; he reviews them in this volume with an open and impartial mind, and with a candor which reveals, if nothing else, an extraordinary degree of intellectual honesty.

We come at once upon a basic enigma: how did it happen that a work of such magnitude and erudition, written in a difficult and often opaque style, caught the imagination of the public and catapulted its author into world renown? The answer, we believe, lies in Toynbee's conviction that history stands in need of two complementary approaches, the microscopic and the macroscopic, and that both in different ways serve a legitimate purpose. Furthermore, Toynbee's enterprise was the manifestation of a new global awareness which made itself felt at the beginning of the twentieth century and which has gathered momentum ever since. On both counts the work is not only justified, but to a high degree meritorious.

Yet, when Toynbee embarked on his project, he did so with a startling lack of philosophical reflection on his own tools and their methodological adequacy. Toynbee admits to these defects, but he remarks, "now that my naïveté has allowed me to produce ten volumes, I can afford, in the present volume, to let myself consider the epistemological problem of relativity." Many of the contradictions of the *Study* could have been avoided or clarified had Toynbee paused to reflect on the obstacles that encumber the path of any such endeavor. Toynbee is frank now in recognizing the conditions which frustrate man's desire to probe the mystery of the universe. One is inclined to speculate as to what will remain of the philosophy on which the *Study* is based.

This impression hardens when we turn from the discussion of first principles to what is the essence of Toynbee's work: the rise and fall of higher civilizations as the "intelligible field of historical studies." Toynbee still believes that the idea of "challenge and response" constitutes a magical key to the why and how of human creativity. But is it not, after all, little more than a formal principle, like Hegel's dialectic, which cannot provide us with a canon of interpretation?

In reviewing other parts of his theory, Toynbee is forced to admit that such terms as "withdrawal and return," "the universal state," "fossils," or "the breakdown," are, at best, hypotheses which he has set forth as certainties, summarizing without great discrimination disparate events and institutions under comprehensive headings. Phenomena like "breakdown," "universal state," or "universal church" can obviously be found in many cultures, but whether they have the functional significance that Toynbee bestows on them is quite another matter.

More important for a final assessment of the *Study* are the corrections and revisions of the tableau of twenty-one higher civilizations with which we were

presented in the first six volumes. To begin with, Toynbee pleads guilty to the charge of having used the Greco-Roman civilization as the model from which he interpreted and judged all others. There is, of course, no reason to believe that all civilizations follow the same course; indeed, such an assumption, until proven, may well cloud our eyes to the uniqueness of the societal entity which we endeavor to comprehend.

That this has been the case in Toynbee's picture of some of the higher civilizations becomes increasingly manifest when one turns to *The Intent of Toynbee's History*. In this symposium experts in the field of Greco-Roman, Islamic, and Russian history, such as David M. Robinson, G. E. von Grunebaum, and Hans Kohn, take issue with Toynbee's findings. Few readers of the *Study* can escape the conclusion that his treatment of Islam or Russia is a veritable tour de force which serves no other purpose than to make the recalcitrant facts fit the mold of a preconceived pattern. Toynbee's handling of Judaism has been the subject of public controversy. Once more, he defends himself with arguments that testify to his naïveté rather than to his logic. It is inconceivable that a historian, reared and steeped in Christian tradition, should have disregarded the unique contributions that Israel made to our Western world.

In this instance, as in many others, Toynbee is now ready to admit to prejudice and a most personal scale of values that have colored his analyses on such variegated subjects as the Roman Empire, nationalism, or the importance of war in the advancement of civilizations. The sincerity that attends these confessions would disarm the severest critic were it not that the *Study* is permeated to such an extent with value judgments that any revision appears futile.

The charge of bias, though not taken lightly by Toynbee, does not seem to perturb him as it might a more secular-minded historian. But we recognize that civilizations are no longer his prime concern. The emergence of sainthood, the universal church, and the higher religion have displaced "the emergence of the species of human culture that we call civilization." It has become clear that Toynbee's writing of the *Study* was in itself an education, or as he puts it, a pilgrimage. As its finale, a new philosophy is offered, a metahistory that cannot be discussed in either factual or rational terms. Crane Brinton has suggested that in consequence much of the quarrel between Toynbee and the historians is superfluous. This historian differs with Brinton. Metahistory remains an indispensable corollary of historical research and writing, but it must be built on foundations that the historian finds acceptable.

The twelfth and last volume of the *Study* will prove productive in many ways since it opens up new avenues of discussion. One is compelled to admire Toynbee's willingness to scrap much of his own work in favor of fresh ideas and new approaches. "If a port on this side of death is unattainable, it is best to keep the seas." He has remained faithful to his original Faustian inspiration. There is little doubt that Toynbee's work will be continued now that he himself has attempted

to integrate criticism and theory. This, then, would be our real debt of gratitude to the author of *A Study of History*.

Sweet Briar College

GERHARD MASUR

A SHORT HISTORY OF TECHNOLOGY FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO A.D. 1900. By *T. K. Derry* and *Trevor I. Williams*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1961. Pp. xviii, 782. \$8.50.)

If the recently published five-volume *A History of Technology*, edited by Charles Singer *et al.*, can rightly be compared to Pliny, the work under consideration here may justly be compared to the Venerable Bede's *De Natura Rerum*. It is largely a condensation of the earlier volumes, though with some rearrangement of topics; it contains all the errors of its predecessor; and it has something new, and virtually worthless, added. Yet in itself it is a major contribution to learning.

In general, all the criticisms leveled at the Singer volumes can be charged against this text. Although the authors claim to have consulted many fresh sources, they evidently did not bother to read the reviews of the Singer volumes, for they make the same errors of omission and commission. For example, the authors state that "from the point of view of technology and much else, the key event of these centuries (of Roman decline) was not the destruction of Rome in the West but the transfer of Roman ideas to the East." Although this statement may be true of "much else," it is certainly false in terms of technology. Indeed, the authors cite scarcely any technological achievements owing to the Byzantine Empire, except in construction, whereas the book abounds in illustrations of technical accomplishments in the medieval West.

At times the book degenerates, as did the Singer volumes, into a mere listing of processes and devices without any clear exposition of their workings. Like the Singer volumes, it omits the great technological contributions of the Eastern world and is largely Western European centered, particularly British. Frequently the interaction among the various elements of technology is not brought out clearly, and, throughout the book, technology seems to develop not in response to any human or social needs, but simply in a vacuum, and sometimes apparently not even in response to any intrinsic demands of the technological process itself.

The authors' one attempt to meet a serious criticism of the Singer volumes, namely the failure of the five-volume work to tie together technological with general political and social developments, is disastrous. It could hardly be otherwise. Only two short chapters and a brief epilogue deal with general history; this scarcely makes it a "book in which the story of technological development [is] at every epoch closely related to the historical background." In the forty pages allotted to the general history from prehistoric times to 1750, how can the authors be expected to relate technology to general history? The answer is they do not; instead of concerning themselves with the relations between technology and po-

litical or social developments, they simply describe artifacts and constructions. When they write, "From the technological standpoint the glories of Greece and Rome can easily be over-estimated," the reader might expect some explanation of the dichotomy between the scientific, philosophical, and literary achievements of Greece and the technical advances. This discussion does not materialize. Instead, they later show that the Greeks and Romans did make significant technological contributions.

One would also expect that these general historical chapters would mention philosophical and psychological changes, but these are not dealt with. And what is one to think of the authors' historical approach when, describing the era which saw the Reform Act of 1832, the repeal of the Corn Laws, the first Factory Acts, and the outburst of Chartist agitation, they write: "For the period 1815-1851, the highlights of political history offer an unreliable guide to economic development"?

If one disregards that ill-starred attempt to "improve" upon the five-volume Singer work, one finds that the chronological division, devoting slightly more than half the text to the period from 1750 to 1900, probably is an improvement over the proportions of the earlier work. The arrangement by topics within the large chronological chunks has, however, some disadvantages; it seems strange to read about Henry Ford and the Wright Brothers midway through a seven-hundred-page book on technology to 1900. Some technological developments that appeared in the larger work are omitted here, for example, the work of Beau de Rochas in developing the four-stroke cycle in combustion engines. While several pages are given to the development of speech and writing, there is no discussion of draftsmanship and blueprints; yet these form the language of engineering.

This volume contains all the defects, plus many of the merits, of the Singer volumes; in addition, it has defects and merits of its own. No other single volume contains as much material on technological growth, including some of the homelier crafts. It is a handy mine of factual information and the only textbook dealing with its subject as other than simply a history of engineering progress. The authors may have failed in their "underlying intention" to relate the history of technology to general history, but they have succeeded admirably in compressing the history of technology. Whereas the Singer volumes must be used as an encyclopedia, this volume can be used as a textbook—like Bede's.

Case Institute of Technology

MELVIN KRANZBERG

THE CITY IN HISTORY: ITS ORIGINS, ITS TRANSFORMATIONS, AND ITS PROSPECTS. By *Lewis Mumford*. (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World. 1961. Pp. xi, 657. \$11.50.)

IN stating, as Lewis Mumford notes in his acknowledgments, that he is "a generalist, not a specialist in any single field," the author of *The City in History* puts his finger on the chief difficulty of subjecting his new book to a critical ap-

praisal of its soundness as history. Few historians, including myself, possess the all-embracing knowledge to judge the reliability of all the evidence Mumford pours into his nearly six hundred pages of text. When, for example, after pointing out that "property, in the civilized sense of the word, did not exist in primitive communities," he adds: "It remained for civilization to create artificial famines to keep the worker chained to his task, so that the surplus might ensure the rich man's feast," the reader who lacks anthropological training and has at best only a smattering of familiarity with the urban developments of early Mesopotamia and Egypt is prone to wonder whether the generalization is not an exaggeration that partly defeats the very purpose of the analysis by raising serious doubts about its validity. Yet if suspected overstatement now and again lessens the impact of some of the author's pronouncements, paradoxically the conscious iconoclasm that obtrudes itself with an almost impish insistence from scores of passages constitutes one of the major contributions of this thought-provoking book.

In sober fact, as the attentive student reads on, he is likely to discover, unless academic niceties have blurred his perceptions, that Mumford's occasional over-dramatic punch lines, like some of his seeming oversimplifications, do not really matter, for the sweep of the study and the challenging character of the ideas it presents are compelling. If he depicts the virtues of the twelfth- or thirteenth-century town of Western Europe in excessively bright colors, most medievalists, I believe, will agree that the over-all picture that emerges is an accurate delineation of a community in which religion, the search for beauty, the sense of human dignity, and common purpose are the dominant life motifs. His rebuke to moderns who equate medieval with primitive and barbarous is effective. The last third of the book is naturally the most controversial, as it reaches down into the present and deals with questions about which every city dweller feels himself qualified to have an opinion. The central theme is the change in the modes of thinking, the physical and spiritual consequences of the rise of capitalism, and the growth of the industrial city. If economic historians consider Mumford's diagnosis of causes faulty, and mid-twentieth-century city planners reject indignantly some of his strictures on their basic assumptions, it is still difficult to see how either group of specialists can deny the aptness of much of his analysis of the results. Just as his appreciation of the medieval city derives from his admiration for its stress upon human values, so his estimate of the errors in city building in the industrial age and its creation of "Cybernetic Deities" follows logically from his criticism of the dehumanized attitude that sets greater store by the machine than by human personality. Much of the data on the present-day "megapolis" is profoundly depressing, but, as the author observes, only people who are aware of "the disintegrations of the metropolitan stage . . . will be capable of directing our collective energies into more constructive processes." While in my judgment he might well have held out more hope by pointing to the slowly reviving recognition of the importance of the neighborhood in giving focus to modern city living, that topic admittedly would

tend to roam beyond the confines of history into the realm of prophecy. And in the areas he has chosen to explore over some thousands of years, his depth of insight is impressive.

Magnificent illustrations, each accompanied by at least a half page of detailed comment, help carry conviction to the doubter. For whereas a peppering of polysyllables and of pronouns whose antecedents often lie three or four sentences back makes some of the text hard reading, the pictures speak for themselves. Furthermore, a fifty-five-page bibliography in which an asterisk denotes a particularly significant work and a sentence or two occasionally underscores the strength or weakness of a study supplies an invaluable tool for the person who wishes to dig deeper into problems that concern all the modern world.

Washington, D. C.

CONSTANCE McLAUGHLIN GREEN

FORERUNNERS OF DARWIN: 1745-1859. Edited by *Bentley Glass et al.*, under the auspices of the Johns Hopkins History of Ideas Club. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1959. Pp. iii, 3-471. \$6.50.)

THE fifteen essays in this volume comprise papers presented at the History of Ideas Club at Johns Hopkins University, and some of the most important writing to come out of the Darwin centenary observation. The volume also testifies to the dominant influence of Arthur O. Lovejoy in intellectual history generally and its relationships to the history of biology in particular. Thus Lovejoy is represented in this volume by six essays: analyses of the relationship of Von Baer, Kant, Herder, Buffon, and Schopenhauer to various aspects of the concept of development, and a revised and enlarged version of his pioneering essay of 1909, "The Argument for Organic Evolution before the *Origin of Species*."

Lovejoy's analyses alone would make this an important book, but the other authors represented have also distinguished themselves. Each of these essays is based on new research; each presents important viewpoints regarding the history of biology and its relationships to the history of ideas. Most important, some serve as corrective reassessments of traditional conceptions, and all such qualities are further illustrations of Lovejoy's influence. For example, there is the impressive work of Francis C. Haber, who, in two essays, traces the history of speculation and observation relative to those primary indicators of biological time—fossil remains. Bentley Glass provides two very valuable studies of the history of the species concept as related to genetics, the mechanisms of heredity, and the concept of variation. He has also written a highly original appraisal of the role of Maupertuis in the eighteenth-century history of the evolution idea. Owsei Temkin's essay tracing the history of German speculative philosophy concerning change and development in the decade before Darwin fills an important gap in the later history of romanticism and of its biological handmaiden, *Naturphilosophie*. An admirable example of historical-biological detective work is Jane Oppenheimer's "An Embry-

ological Enigma in the *Origin of Species*," wherein she sets forth Darwin's understanding of the recapitulation concept and the background and bases of this singular idea in the work of Karl Ernst Von Baer.

The intellectual unity attributed to this volume by its editors revolves around the analysis of precursors of the Darwinian concept during the century prior to 1859. But, in testimony to the authors' achievements, the volume does more and less than this. Some essays, such as those by Glass and Haber, reach back to the ancient world for their conceptions and substance. Others, such as the provocative if controversial analysis by Lovejoy of the recapitulation concept, enter the domain of modern biology. As for forerunners of Darwin, the authors of these essays demonstrate that naturalists and philosophers were deeply concerned with problems of change and development before 1859.

But what were the philosophical presuppositions of such precursors? With the exception of a man like Robert Chambers, whom Lovejoy cites as an impressive forerunner, the fact is that the world view of most precursors was contrary to that of Darwin. Professor Charles C. Gillispie, in one of the most valuable of these essays ("Lamarck and Darwin in the History of Science") observes that Darwin's work "turned the study of the whole of living nature into an objective science," thus formulating "a new natural philosophy, as new in its domain as Galileo's in physics." In this important sense, Darwin was unique and had no forerunners, as he was "the first to frame objective concepts widely enough to embrace the whole range of phenomena studied by his science." Thus, while the idea of evolution did have great appeal for the romantic mind, and a chain of being can be discerned connecting the work of 1859 to the speculations of the ancients, Gillispie shows that this kind of "subjective" science did not concern Darwin and was foreign to his intellectual disposition. This is the sort of singular and original contribution typical of this significant volume.

Wayne State University

EDWARD LURIE

POLITIKA SShA B MANCHZHURII B 1898-1903 GG. I DOKTRINA "OTKRYTYKH DVEREI" [Policy of the USA in Manchuria, 1898-1903, and the Doctrine of "Open Doors"]. By C. B. Gorelik. (Moscow: Oriental Literature Press for the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, Institute of Sinology. 1960. Pp. 195. 6 rubles, 50 kopecks.)

VOPROSY DALNEVOSTOCHNOI POLITIKI SShA (1953-1955 GG.) [Problems of USA Far Eastern Policy (1953-1955)]. By B. I. Bukharov. (Moscow: Academy of Sciences Press for the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, Institute of History. 1959. Pp. 237. 8 rubles, 40 kopecks.)

RECENT years have brought a rash of studies by Communist historians on American Far Eastern policy: among others, A. A. Fursenko's book on America in the struggle over the partition of China, 1895-1900, A. S. Dobrov's on American

policy during the period of the Russo-Japanese War, and P. P. Sevost'yanov's on American expansion in China, 1905-1911, all resting on work in Western sources and in Russian archives. But Gorelik's monograph stands head and shoulders above these others, ranging much more widely through Russian documents and quoting not only from obvious files but also from consular reports, interdepartmental memoranda, and Treasury Ministry correspondence.

Upon this wealth of evidence Gorelik bases an indictment of the Open Door policy. It was, he says, a sham. Secretary of State Hay, even while circulating his famous note in 1899, was discussing with the Russian ambassador means of obtaining special privileges for Americans within the prospective Russian sphere of influence. In 1900, when calling in addition for the preservation of Chinese territorial and administrative integrity, he was still talking with the Russians only about safeguarding American missionaries and business interests. The same remained true later, when he protested Russia's post-Boxer war occupation of Manchuria. Pious references to the principle of equality of opportunity and China's right to independence appeared only in public utterances, not in private negotiations, where the Secretary, like any other representative of an imperialist, capitalist power, concerned himself with selfish national interests.

Most American historians would accept this indictment, having been familiar with it ever since A. L. P. Dennis published *Adventures in American Diplomacy* in 1928. Indeed, with "realism" now so much more popular than "idealism," many may be pleased by additional proof that Hay was not such a moralist as he pretended to be. As far as American Far Eastern policy is concerned, Gorelik's monograph supports a thesis already widely accepted.

Where the book really makes an important contribution is in its addition to knowledge about Russian policy, a subject practically taboo for Soviet scholars since the Pokrovsky school fell from grace in 1934. Dobrov's and Fursenko's volumes had already supplied hints that misunderstandings concerning American policy might have exercised considerable influence on Russia's crucial decisions in March 1902 to promise withdrawal from Manchuria and in May 1903 to renege on that pledge. Gorelik practically proves this to have been the case. He demonstrates that dispatch after dispatch in the winter of 1901-1902 reported the United States working hand in glove with Britain and Japan, while communications from the summer of 1902 forward indicated that, on the contrary, America wanted only a working agreement to protect American interests. Both Witte and Lamsdorff were apparently satisfied that such an agreement was in prospect when they withdrew their objections to continued occupation of Manchuria. This evidence suggests that the standard accounts, Boris Romanov's in Russian and Andrew Malozemoff's in English, may err in describing them as regretfully accepting the inevitable, for they had reason (albeit mistaken) to expect American support against Britain and Japan. The canons of current Soviet historiography prohibit Gorelik's exploring such points, but his volume is most useful for its illumination of them.

Based on extensive work in American newspapers, magazines, and congressional documents, Bukharov's book argues that powerful groups, especially in the American business community and the Pentagon, worked in 1953-1955 to prolong and expand the Korean conflict and to precipitate a new struggle with China in Southeast Asia and the Formosa Straits, but were frustrated by manifestations in favor of peace on the part of public opinion at home and abroad. Bukharov relates phases in American policy to phases in the business cycle, suggesting that the government's sole concern at any given moment was with corporate earnings for the next quarter. He also attributes the welling up of feeling in favor of a truce in Korea and noninvolvement in Indochina to initiatives by the American Communist party and certain "progressive" labor unions and to the inspiring example of mass peace demonstrations in such capitals as Prague, Bucharest, and Budapest. He quotes the *Daily Worker* extensively and writes as if it spoke for the majority of Americans while the rest of the press, Congress, and the executive merely represented a ruling minority. This is absurd. But Bukharov is obviously one of the Soviet Union's American experts; he writes with assurance and conviction; his book may well resemble analyses of American affairs currently circulating in the Kremlin. Gorelik's work suggests that the czarist regime blundered toward the Russo-Japanese War partly because it misinterpreted America; Bukharov's gives a chilling insight into what may be the present state of Russian understanding of the United States.

Harvard University

ERNEST R. MAY

RUSSIA AND THE WEST UNDER LENIN AND STALIN. By *George F. Kennan*. (Boston: Atlantic-Little, Brown. 1961. Pp. x, 411. \$5.75.)

THIS book "is not," the author explains, "intended as a chronological account of the happenings in this phase of diplomatic history, but rather as a series of discussions of individual episodes or problems."

The first half tells of the Western relations with Russia in the years 1917-1922 (the year of the Rapallo Treaty); this comprehends the bearing of Allied treatment of defeated Germany upon Russian relations with the West. Of the following chapters the one likely to attract most attention is that containing an impassioned interpretation of Stalin's base and twisted personal nature and political schemes and methods. Others concern the rise of Hitler, the struggle against him, the purges conducted by Stalin, and the emergence and completion of the Nazi-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact. Only two chapters are devoted to the Second World War when Russia and the West were allies; they lack pungency.

These connected essays are brilliant, bold, and in some respects, baffling.

They are brilliant because of their range, vividness, sense of essentials, lucid summaries, and flair for personal portrayal.

They are bold in analysis of the causes of events, of the purposes behind poli-

cies pursued, and of their consequences. The narrative is endowed thereby with stimulating meaning. But, perhaps unjustly, I have the impression that Kennan sometimes indulged the spirit of boldness in order to startle.

They are baffling because of the very abundance of observations and generalizations. Studious effort is required to decide whether these are consistent with one another, whether they should be viewed as different aspects of complex truth or as irresolution of judgment. Here and there the author's meaning is difficult to discern because of skilled indirection of expression. A hundred points in his narrative arouse the impulse to mark agreement or disagreement. A few must serve in the constricted space of this review to indicate their nature.

How correct Kennan is in stressing again and again the deep and lasting consequences for victor and vanquished of the First World War and its anguished prolongation. I think agreement compulsory to his statement that "I hold the First World War to have been *the* great catastrophe of Western civilization in the present century. I think it an endless pity that it did not cease [on the basis of compromise] in November 1917."

Similarly, who now can question the correctness of his opinion of the futility and dire consequences of the Allied efforts to induce or coerce the Russian government to continue to fight after the breakdown of 1917?

To him the Versailles Peace Treaty was unduly punitive and onerous. He believes that its requirements explain and, indeed, are almost sufficient to justify later German behavior. Likewise his indignant view of the Allied treatment of the Weimar Republic is extreme in its reproaches; so stupid and harsh he deems that to have been, as almost to make the Allies responsible for the ultimate failure of the Republic and the advent of Hitler. He almost ignores the gradual re-entry of Germany into Western political life and the League of Nations, and the fact that by 1929 Germany had recovered and begun to thrive.

Another generalization which the student may ponder with doubt is that "the pattern of the events that led the Western world to new disaster in 1939 was laid down in its entirety by the Allied governments in 1918 and 1919. What we shall have to observe from here on in the relations between Russia, Germany, and the West follows a logic as inexorable as that of any Greek tragedy." If this is true, it must be concluded that subsequent events and policies were of little determinative consequence. The historian is required to dismiss the possibility that the history of the interwar years would have been different had the United States joined the League of Nations, had the Great Depression of 1929-1933 not occurred, had we not tried to take refuge in a policy of neutrality during the thirties, had the British and the French governments firmly resisted Hitler earlier and tried harder to draw the Soviet Union into an effective, if only temporary, alliance.

These few selected features of his narrative illustrate the great importance of the subjects about which Kennan has written and the intense interest which his treatment produces.

York, Maine

HERBERT FEIS

JAPAN SUBDUED: THE ATOMIC BOMB AND THE END OF THE WAR IN THE PACIFIC. By *Herbert Feis*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1961. Pp. vi, 199. \$4.00.)

THIS is the sixth important book that Herbert Feis has written about the diplomacy and grand strategy of World War II. In sequence, its place is after *The Potsdam Conference*, which was awarded the Pulitzer Prize for history in 1960, and *The China Tangle*, although in some respects it overlaps both. Like Feis's other books, this is a sober, objective, dispassionate account, seeking the truth about men's motives and human events, rather than riding the emotions of war and peace. Although not so detailed on the Japanese side as Butow's *Japan's Decision to Surrender*, it is a better-rounded account, covering the discussion within the United States government concerning the use of the atomic bomb, considering whether a chance was missed to end the war earlier (he thinks not), and who wanted Russia to enter the war. He makes it clear that all the important people in the army, including General MacArthur, very much wanted to get Russia in.

On two points the author questions the present reviewer, who (quoting Craven and Cate, *Army Air Forces in World War II*, V, 404-15) stated that President Truman gave the final "execute" order for dropping the two atomic bombs, not on July 25, 1945, the day of the directive to General Spaatz, but on August 2 or 3, when he was on board the *Augusta*; as he hoped that the Japanese government might accept the Potsdam Declaration before that conference ended. This is one of the important things that should be cleared up while the participants are still alive, and Feis's statement that he can find no record of the August 2 or 3 "execute" in the archives is no proof against it. Many important decisions in wartime never are recorded in documentary form.

The other question is that of the number of planes the Japanese had left at the time of their surrender. Feis apparently accepts the presurrender United States intelligence estimate of 1,200 and doubts my estimate of 5,350 *kamikaze* planes and 5,000 pilots, together with many more orthodox planes. My authority was that exhaustive postwar investigation by the United States Strategic Bombing Survey entitled *Japanese Air Power* (1946). If this was wrong, it should have been proved wrong; for a landing on Kyushu with only 1,200 planes to oppose was acceptable, but such a landing against over 5,000 planes trained in *kamikaze* tactics would have proved terribly destructive—possibly more so to us than the atomic bombs were to the enemy. The dropping of the atomic bombs was decided partly on the ground that it would save lives; one of the many arguments against it is based on the hypothesis that the Japanese were defeated anyway and would have surrendered without an atomic bomb to prove their helplessness. Nobody can ever prove this, pro or con.

Apart from this question of saving lives, the author agrees that the dropping of the atomic bombs was necessary to obtain a prompt ending to the war. In the realm of hypothesis, not history, it would be interesting to consider what would have happened if the Western Allies had invaded Kyushu, and Soviet Russia Hok-

kaido, in the fall of 1945. Possibly, in that event, we would have had a divided Tokyo, like a divided Berlin.

Boston, Massachusetts

S. E. MORISON

SOME 20TH CENTURY HISTORIANS: ESSAYS ON EMINENT EUROPEANS. By *James L. Cate et al.* Edited by *S. William Halperin*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1961. Pp. xxiv, 298. \$5.95.)

THE FASHION AND FUTURE OF HISTORY: HISTORICAL STUDIES AND ADDRESSES. By *Bernadotte E. Schmitt*. (Cleveland, Ohio: Press of Western Reserve University. 1960. Pp. 205. \$5.50.)

ON the occasion of his presidency of the American Historical Association, Bernadotte Schmitt's students prepared essays on eleven European historians of the twentieth century. These studies complement the score of essays in *Some Historians of Modern History* edited by Schmitt twenty years ago, essays also written by students in the course on historiography which he, and James Westfall Thompson before him, conducted at the University of Chicago. Together the volumes form a most useful supplement to the classic historiographical studies of G. P. Gooch and Eduard Fueter.

Before he joined the faculty of the University of Chicago as professor in 1925, Schmitt had risen from instructor to professor at Western Reserve, and that university commemorated his presidency of the Association by publishing a volume of essays and speeches which he had written between 1914, the year he came to Western Reserve, and 1949, when he was a special consultant in the Department of State. This volume will be prized particularly by his friends in the historical profession and in government for its illumination of a personality and a mind at once reserved and forthright, simple and complex: even after an acquaintance reaching back more than a generation, it was a surprise to read "The Age of Extravagance," his affectionate recollections of social life in Edwardian England, that brassy epilogue to the Gladstonian England where, it would seem, Schmitt should be more at home.

On the whole, his book sits very well beside the volume prepared by his students, because his mind, like that of nearly all the historians of the twentieth century portrayed in the essays, was formed in the Europe before 1914. It is an admirable generation, in that these historians knew just what they wanted to do and did it well. They knew their task: to uncover the evidence, and from that evidence to reconstruct the past. They were confident that they understood the forces which shaped the past and that they could describe the past objectively and correctly. They did not always reach the same conclusions. When this happened, they were troubled. Schmitt speaks of his early and lasting friendship with Sidney Fay, which was untroubled "by the circumstance that we put forth conflicting views of the responsibility for the war of 1914." The friendship was untroubled, but

Schmitt is troubled by the fact of conflicting views. "We had both taken advanced degrees at eminent universities, and I suppose that the technical instruction given at Harvard and Wisconsin was much the same. We used the same documents and read the same biographies and memoirs in preparing our respective books—and came up with quite different interpretations. . . . Is there something wrong with our methods of historical study and training when two scholars draw such conflicting conclusions from the same evidence?"

It is unlikely that many, even of those the two trained, would think of asking the question. There lingers in memory a long evening at a meeting of the Association in the twenties when the two were brought together by a group of beginners, possibly only a dozen or so years their junior, who listened, fascinated, as hour after hour the two flung documents at each other, giving the date of dispatch and receipt, the initials on each document, every detail of precise scholarly knowledge—and each completely unmoved by the arguments of the other. For those who listened, admiring, even reverencing these masters, the experience was a turning point in their study of the past, and in their interpretation of the meaning of historical scholarship. There the break between those whose minds were formed before 1914, and those, whatever their age, who began to think only in the years after 1918, became clear.

Not only Schmitt, but Renouvin and Gooch, Pirenne and Charles Webster, Trevelyan and Lefebvre, no matter whether they were liberals or conservatives, all shared a serene conviction that they knew their task, and could do it. Reading here of their life and their work, reflecting on the excellence and the sheer mass of their achievement, it is impossible not to envy these giants whose strength was poured so effortlessly, so harmoniously into their work.

Only two historians portrayed by Schmitt's students belong wholly to the years after 1918—Herbert Butterfield, who was born with the new century, and Lucien Febvre, born deep in the nineteenth century, but still searching for the proper way to woo "la vieille Clio" in his old age. With these two, there is none of the simple dignity of, say, Trevelyan. One may hazard the guess, however, that if Schmitt returned to his course in historiography, he would find alert young minds offering homage to the scholars of the great tradition, but showing kinship with scholars formed by a time of troubles.

University of California, Berkeley

RAYMOND J. SONTAG

A HISTORY OF THE COLD WAR. By *John Lukacs*. (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday and Company. 1961. Pp. 288. \$3.95.)

THIS is a critical review of the "cold war" and an exploration of its historical roots. The author seemingly has not consulted new sources; he provides no bibliography, and his numerous footnotes almost never mention sources. Text and footnotes are not always free of factual errors. The book liberally mixes an under-

lying set of strong Christian convictions and a pervasive national viewpoint with the basic facts of recent and not so recent history (since about 1763). The result is at times sophomoric, as when the author suggests that a Russian withdrawal from Hungary in 1956 might have been accomplished if there had been an equivalent American withdrawal from some other part of Europe. Often, however, Lukacs is keenly perceptive, as when he tells us that a "Yalta-like situation" in Central-Eastern Europe would have arisen as early as 1918 had it not been for the revolutionary frustration of Russian aims and East-West diplomacy in World War I. One of the results of the author's background and values is a rare talent for criticizing the United States as well as the Soviet Union. Both are treated as imperial powers in the process of developing imperial societies. Lukacs' Hungarian origin makes him critical of Soviet domination over Central-Eastern Europe, but equally critical of United States failure to forestall or to undo it. He is even more harsh in his strictures on John Foster Dulles than in his comments on Roosevelt.

But good judgment is displayed far more often than bad in this book. The author knows, as many Americans do not, that it was not wise to broaden the Korean War at the risk of losing more of Europe, and he realizes that Stalin was the loser in that conflict. And if Lukacs is critical of the results of Soviet-Western collaboration in World War II, he is clear-sighted about its causes: "no one was as responsible for the advance of Communist Russia into Europe as Hitler." He may be wrong in his strong and reiterated belief that Stalin's ambitions were not those of a dedicated Communist but the more limited national and imperial objectives of a Russian statesman. The printed evidence for the period 1941-1945 is on his side, but new data may yet bear out George Kennan's contention that even in World War II Stalin was determined to take advantage of the defeat of Germany to establish Communism as quickly as possible throughout Europe. Whatever the ultimate verdict on this, by putting together facts that are usually left in different scholarly compartments, by writing with vigor and clarity, and by presenting fresh ideas, the author makes an original contribution.

Tulane University

JOHN L. SNELL

Ancient and Medieval

ANCIENT EGYPT: A CULTURAL TOPOGRAPHY. By *Hermann Kees*.

Edited by *T. G. H. James*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961. Pp. 392. \$5.95.)

EVER since Herodotus called Egypt "the gift of the river," historians have sought to demonstrate how topography formed and affected ancient Egyptian civilization. One of the best-known modern practitioners of this topographical approach is Hermann Kees, emeritus professor of Egyptology at the University of Göttingen and a widely recognized scholar in the fields of Egyptian philology, in-

stitutions, and, above all, religion. Since his retirement in 1952, his scholarly productivity has remained undiminished, including several new monographs and thorough revisions of his standard works on Egyptian religion (*Der Götterglaube im alten Ägypten* [1956] and *Totenglauben und Jenseitsvorstellungen der alten Ägypter* [1956]). In the present book he turns to the broad subject of the historical geography of ancient Egypt and writes for a wider audience.

Smoothly translated from the German, *Ancient Egypt* draws on the results of a lifetime of study, including the author's many articles in the Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Encyclopädie*. A general introductory section on the Nile Valley in predynastic times is followed by four detailed chapters dealing with "The Topographical Framework of Egyptian Civilization." This "topographical framework" is, in fact, a comprehensive picture of ancient Egyptian life: the management and utilization of the arable land; ships, ports, and transport on the Nile; the character and importance of the eastern and western deserts; and the relationship between a lack of essential raw materials and the conduct of foreign relations. Although this part represents the heart of the book, many readers will find a final section on "Cities and Districts" to be of greater interest. Covering the Nile Valley from the delta in the north to Napata, the most southerly town of the Egyptian Empire, the author in this section frequently covers new ground and leavens the encyclopedic character of the book with observations based on his travels in Egypt, the latest in 1954.

Accompanied by forty-six photographs, mostly taken by the author, and eleven detailed line-drawn maps of the various districts, the volume is both a guidebook for the intelligent traveler and a survey of up-to-date scholarly opinion on all aspects of everyday life in ancient Egypt. Its contents are fully annotated, and its highly useful index includes references by author and by learned journal to all works cited. A sense of unity and synthesis is largely lacking, but this was not the goal set by the scholarly author of this "album of the Egyptian countryside."

Tulane University

NELS BAILKEY

EGYPT OF THE PHARAOHS: AN INTRODUCTION. By *Sir Alan Gardiner*.
(New York: Oxford University Press. 1961. Pp. xx, 461. \$5.60.)

A PRECISE description of the contents of this important book by a well-known Egyptologist may be had by inverting the title to read "Pharaohs of Egypt." After presenting short essays on Egyptology, language and writing, the land, and history, the author sets forth what is known about each of the kings of Egypt from the beginning of the Old Kingdom down to Alexander the Great. In a final section he discusses prehistory and Dynasties I and II. Throughout the major part of the work the author keeps strictly to the ancient structure of Manetho, since, as he states, "no Egyptologist has yet been able to free himself from the shackles imposed by the native annalist's thirty Dynasties, and these are likely always to re-

main the essential framework of our modern expositions." Only occasionally has he allowed himself to be diverted from the preserved evidence for the kings of Egypt to discuss such matters as the circumstances of discovery, debates between scholars, art, religion, and literature. An extremely valuable feature of the book is an appendix listing the kings of Egypt as they are known from Manetho, the king lists, and the monuments; the years of each reign and some conjectural dates are given. Scattered throughout the text are Gardiner's translations of important Egyptian documents, such as Sinuhe, the Hymn to the Sun, Wenamun, and many others.

Gardiner's rigorous pursuit of his main objective—that of listing what is currently known about each of the royal figures—makes the work useful to those who are concerned with Egyptian history as studied according to the traditional scheme of dynasties. The book is important also for the opinions of the author, who has produced a steady stream of publications in the field of Egyptology since 1895. Gardiner brings this book, which he considers in all probability to be his swan song, to its conclusion with the words, "we frankly admit our aim to have been propaganda, and our ambition will not have been satisfied unless we succeed in winning at least one fresh recruit to our fascinating field of research." Even the most casual reader will see that for the author Egyptology has been a captivating field of research for more than sixty-five years. Those who have already been lured into this field will be grateful for this patently useful study of Egyptian dynastic history.

Church Divinity School of the Pacific

JAMES B. PRITCHARD

A HISTORY OF ANTIOCH IN SYRIA FROM SELEUCIS TO THE ARAB CONQUEST. By *Glanville Downey*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1961. Pp. xvii, 752, 21 plates. \$15.00.)

A HISTORIAN of modern times tends to write and think in terms of states and nations or of so-called "culture-groups" which have a common language and other common cultural traits. The historian of antiquity and of many areas in the Middle Ages must think and write in terms of the city as a cultural and historical unit.

It is necessary for historians to remember this fact in order to appreciate and evaluate this work. A history of Cairo or even of Jerusalem or Constantinople would not normally be regarded as a fitting framework for modern history. From its foundation as a Seleucid capital, however, until the capture of the city in 641 in the reign of Heraclius, Antioch remained a center of Greek influence in western Asia.

The present work carries the history to A.D. 641, but in a series of appendixes, there is detailed discussion of many difficult problems in the history and topography of the city. There is an excellent bibliography, a chronology of events from 300 B.C.

to A.D. 641, and an adequate index. The twenty-one illustrations at the end of the volume deal largely with matters of topography in maps and in some excellent photographs and engravings.

The author's purpose has been to draw together the results of various special studies of aspects of the history and topography of the city along with the information gained in the modern excavation of the site from 1932 to 1939 by the National Museums of France and a group of American universities, museums, and private donors. The author was associated with these excavations and the publications of the reports by Princeton University.

Most students of ancient history will be somewhat familiar with the early part of this story since the city occupies a central place in our study of the Seleucid Empire and the early Roman period in the East. It is in Chapters XI and XII particularly that the author has drawn together materials and sketched a history that is not so well presented in most of our standard works. In "The Christian Community at Antioch from Apostolic Times to A.D. 284" and "Antioch under Diocletian, Constantine the Great, and Constantius (284-361)," the importance of the city in a most critical and important period is well set forth.

The segment of Byzantine history from Julian to the Arab conquest (361-641) has been badly neglected by historians. In this period the general tendency has been to focus the light of history so sharply upon Constantinople and the imperial court that the eastern provinces, except, at times, the area of Egypt, have not received proper attention. Admittedly, the sources are disparate and difficult. That is why the present work is such an outstanding achievement since it has put these materials together in a most remarkable manner.

This is a complete and definitive work for the period covered. All the ancient and modern materials have been utilized, and copious footnotes indicate the sources of information. No student of Hellenistic, Roman, or Byzantine history will be able to dispense with this work. Along with certain historical studies of Rome, Alexandria, and Constantinople, it becomes one of the basic pillars to which our history of these periods must be anchored.

University of Missouri

THOMAS A. BRADY

THE VOTING DISTRICTS OF THE ROMAN REPUBLIC: THE THIRTY-FIVE URBAN AND RURAL TRIBES. By *Lily Ross Taylor*. [Papers and Monographs of the American Academy in Rome, Volume XX.] (Rome: the Academy. 1960. Pp. xii, 353.)

THIS monograph on the thirty-five tribes of the Roman Republic is concerned with a subject of great importance to the student of Roman history. The tribes, in which every male citizen was registered, voted each year as units or by divisions according to property qualifications. Their power thus decided on the choice of all magistrates and the enactment of the laws of Rome. Miss Taylor attempts to

show how the system developed from the earliest obscure times until the end of the Republic. Her work falls into two parts. The first is a study of the geographical distribution of the tribes in Italy. The second is a listing and analysis of the tribes of Republican senators in so far as they can be recovered from surviving sources.

The geographical study shows the evolution of a curious distribution, for the tribes were unequal both in size and in the value of the individual's vote, and most of them were eventually divided into several separated sections. No new tribes were created after 241 B.C., but the old tribes had new districts added to them. Miss Taylor has assembled a mass of literary and inscriptional evidence to document this development and show why the assignments were made in this way. Three useful maps help to clarify this part of the study. The tribal assignment of most parts of Italy can now be determined with more or less assurance. We can realize what a task a candidate for office in the later period had before him. In campaigning he needed to know the tribal assignment of each community just as an American candidate must know the fifty states, but since the tribes were not continuous geographical units, the task of memorization was much harder.

Those responsible for assigning voting districts were the men of senatorial and noble families who controlled Roman politics, especially the censors. The nobles wished to keep their houses in high office, and family interests played a big role. The detailed study of the evidence of how this was done comprises the second part of the monograph. Nobles either transferred to new tribes themselves by receiving land grants in conquered territory or saw to it that clients and adherents who could be depended upon to "deliver the vote" were so enrolled. Miss Taylor has listed 322 individuals of senatorial rank and *gentes* whose tribes are known. On this painstakingly documented list she bases her study of the procedure of the district makers in determining tribes. The special interests of various political crises, such as the elder Scipio's struggle to regain political control at the elections, are illustrated by this evidence.

Miss Taylor's study is admirable in clarity. She arrives at new conclusions on many controversial points. Those who do not wish to study the technical parts of the monograph can use the excellent chapters of summary and conclusion. For the specialist the author's command of the modern literature and the scattered ancient evidence makes the more technical chapters extremely useful. As never before, one can see the Roman political system in Italy at work. Whenever evidence is lacking or uncertain, Miss Taylor points this out. A most valuable piece of scholarship has been added to the tools of every historian of Rome.

Wellesley College

CHARLOTTE E. GOODFELLOW

LIVY: HIS HISTORICAL AIMS AND METHODS. By P. G. Walsh. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1961. Pp. xi, 300. \$8.00.)

DR. WALSH presents for the English reader a long-desired consideration of Livy. As his bibliography suggests, he has read widely and profitably both in the special literature and in recent general books in other languages. While his interpretation of Livy is not novel, it is marked by thoroughness, conservative good sense, and eminent readability. The last quality is heightened by the admirable typography. The relatively few notes chiefly cite the ancient or modern sources for statements in the text.

The eleven chapters fall into three main sections. Four consider the formative influences on Livy: his own life, the traditions of classical historiography, and his religious, philosophical, and moral concepts, with a particular discussion of the historical character of Roman morality. Livy followed the Hellenistic pattern of rhetorical history and held the Stoic view that the outstanding individual was important in history even though fortune played a large part therein. His rationalism did not make him skeptical of the intervention of the divine in human affairs.

Two chapters deal with Livy's relatively uncritical use of his sources and his tendency to sacrifice accuracy of detail to over-all movement or emotional dramatization. Walsh realizes that such a criticism of Livy's scientific attitude might well be mitigated if his treatment of better-documented periods had survived, but he supports the criticism by a comparison of Livy with surviving earlier accounts of the third and second centuries.

Four chapters survey the literary accomplishment of Livy as a representative of the Ciceronian concept that historical writing should combine oratory and poetry. Livy builds his narrative about persons and has stereotyped descriptions of similar events, such as battles. His speeches are composed in accordance with rhetorical teachings found in Cicero and Quintilian, and primarily illustrate character. His Latinity is Ciceronian, enhanced by a more elaborate periodic style and a more colorful, often poetic, vocabulary and syntax. Perhaps it was this *lactea ubertas*, rather than any peculiarity of language or accent or any rusticity of moral attitude, which led the literary purist Asinius Pollio to charge him with *Patavinitas*.

Walsh concludes that Livy was a Ciceronian and traditional republican, not an "Augustan." One who feels, against much modern opinion, that Augustus himself was sincerely a Ciceronian and a republican does not find any conflict here. For him, it was perfectly natural for Augustus to be a friend and admirer of the "Pompeian" Livy. Walsh has admirably demonstrated why Livy, despite his defects and unevenness as a historian, was qualified to paint "the" literary portrait of the Roman Republic.

Harvard University

MASON HAMMOND

ENGLISH UNCIAL. By E. A. Lowe. (New York: Oxford University Press.
1960. Pp. 28, 40 plates. \$12.00.)

ENGLISH MANUSCRIPTS IN THE CENTURY AFTER THE NORMAN

CONQUEST. By *N. R. Ker*. [The Lyell Lectures, 1952-3.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1960. Pp. xiv, 67, 29 plates. \$10.10.)

SCRIPTORES REGIS: FACSIMILES TO IDENTIFY AND ILLUSTRATE THE HANDS OF ROYAL SCRIBES IN ORIGINAL CHARTERS OF HENRY I, STEPHEN, AND HENRY II. By *T. A. M. Bishop*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1961. Pp. xii, 86, 40 plates. \$12.00.)

THE study of paleography, both as a science in its own right and as an instrument of historical research, seems to be moving forward now in leaps and bounds. Here, published within a year, are three notable contributions to the subject, whose authors are already well known to medievalists through their previous works. Professor Lowe has devoted the best part of a long and active life to his monumental *Codices Latini Antiquiores*; Mr. Ker, the reader in paleography at Oxford, has already given us those indispensable handbooks, the *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain* and the *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon*; and his counterpart at Cambridge, Mr. Bishop, recently joined with Mr. Chaplais to produce *Facsimiles of English Royal Writs*.

The scope and purpose of the three works differ widely. Lowe's study embraces all surviving English writing in the majuscule script known as uncial, which was in use there from the seventh to the ninth century. Its central point is his discussion of that most famous and beautiful of Latin Bibles, the Codex Amiatinus, now in the Laurentian Library at Florence, which he convincingly shows, against the generally received attribution to Italian scribes, and in accordance with his own earlier views, to have been written in the double monastery of Wearmouth-Jarrow, by English scribes. The plates illustrate a group of fifth- to seventh-century Italian manuscripts which were brought to England and probably served as models for English uncial; the Codex Amiatinus and other books in a similar script of about A.D. 700; and the principal eighth- and early ninth-century manuscripts written in or containing uncial, including the Cambridge, Cotton, and Leningrad texts of Bede.

In *English Manuscripts in the Century after the Conquest*, Ker is concerned with the libraries, scriptoria, and techniques of book production in the principal cathedrals and monasteries. He describes in detail the types of script in use, elucidating the relationship of English and Norman handwriting and the varieties of script practiced in different scriptoria; he discusses the few dated books, especially the mortuary roll of Abbot Vitalis of Savigny and the Canterbury episcopal professions; and he gives a minute and invaluable account of changing scribal practices in the years 1066-1170. The twenty-nine plates admirably illustrate every aspect of the text. While Ker, in spite of his title, limits himself to formal book hands, Bishop, in *Scriptores regis*, studies cursive scripts in the same period. His analysis of the script employed in the royal chancery between 1100 and 1189 enables him to identify convincingly and illustrate in facsimile the handwriting of

forty-eight individual scribes. This tour de force of detailed paleography yields important new information about the royal chancery and twelfth-century English diplomatic, and provides new criteria for the dating and authenticity of royal charters. It is supported by a most useful list of surviving charters and an index of authors, beneficiaries, and places of issue. The plates will serve as a sequel to *Facsimiles of English Royal Writs*; as a collection of illustrations to the *Regesta regum Anglo-normannorum*; and as a supplement to *Facsimiles of Royal and Other Charters in the British Museum* and Delisle's famous *Atlas*.

Although in all three books the numerous plates are of excellent quality, their value is diminished slightly in Ker's by the absence of captions to them. In this respect Bishop's arrangement is admirable, for he places all the relevant information, together with his comments, on the page opposite each plate. One failing is shared by all these works: their authors, so far as I can discover, nowhere state the relationship in size between the reproductions and the originals, and the reader is left to guess or assume that most of the former are approximately natural size. But there are special reasons why each of them should find a place in every medievalist's library: Lowe's because it brings together all the known facts about English uncial; Ker's because of its detailed study of the techniques of copying texts and making books; and Bishop's because of the remarkable feat of identifying the hands of individual scribes.

Corpus Christi College, Cambridge

RICHARD VAUGHAN

LA STRUCTURE ET LA GESTION DU DOMAINE DE L'ÉGLISE AU MOYEN ÂGE DANS L'EUROPE DES FRANCS. In two volumes. By *Joseph Balon*. [Ius Medii Aevi, Volume I.] (Namur: Les Anc. Ets Godenne. 1959. Pp. xl, 219; 230-561. 650 fr. B.)

"THE knowledge of the juridic vocabulary of the Middle Ages," Mr. Balon maintains, "has been a little neglected." This work (in two volumes), the first of three planned volumes, initiates a massive effort to correct that failing. With impressive energy and erudition, Balon here sets forth to define the precise juridic content of the many terms associated with ecclesiastical manors, from the names of officials involved in their administration (for example, *advocatus*, *prepositus*) to the names of "the constituent parts of the domaine" (*villa*, *curtis*, *mansus*) and the different forms of tenures (*beneficium*, *precarium*, *censiva*). Besides devoting lengthy essays to these and other words of major interest, Balon completes his verbal survey with an appended dictionary of some fifteen hundred technical juridic terms.

The importance and value of this book should be obvious to scholars who have had occasion to wrestle with the verbal technicalities of medieval legal charters. Still, these tomes will be used with some difficulty. The text itself, with its eleven hundred packed footnotes, makes heavy reading, and Balon's style is not dis-

tinguished by its clarity. They ought to be used judiciously for they are not intended to be a work of reference, conservatively surveying and summarizing the best scholarly opinion on the controversies rife in the field. Balon has his own personal thesis to advance. Indeed, a prerequisite for reading this work is familiarity with the author's earlier *Fondements du régime foncier au Moyen Âge* (AHR, LXII [Apr. 1957], 608), in which Balon maintained that the foundations of the medieval manor or seignury were to be found in the institutions of the Salian Franks, spread throughout Europe with the Frankish conquests. This study is in large measure an effort to show that seigneurial terminology consistently and triumphantly reflects his thesis. An estimation of this present work will depend largely on what one thinks of his "Salian theory" of seigneurial origins. Balon argues that the "allod" in the early Middle Ages, property in the fullest sense, was not so much ownership of land as power and jurisdiction over the persons who lived on it, that possession of allodial property was the prerogative not of numerous common freemen but of a restricted aristocracy (king, great laymen, and churches favored by them) and that all Europe came to share the same principles of seigneurial organization.

All this is effectively argued and most enlightening. But if the seignury is to be attributed to Salian origins, how are we to explain the apparently similar union of property and power evident, for example, in Anglo-Saxon England, in which direct link with the Salians is absent? Eric John, author of the recent *Land Tenure in Early England*, rather traces English seigneurial roots to late Roman vulgar law. Was late Roman vulgar law less influential on the Continent? Balon's own Salian theory rides on the occasional (though indubitable) equivalence of *terra salica* with *terra indominicata*, "lord's land." But his argument that the existence of this term (neither the most common nor the most widespread of many synonyms for the seignury) means that all seigneuries were directly connected with the Franks and their expansion is not logically cogent. *Salicus* is occasionally also a synonym for *liber*, freeman. Would Balon thereby conclude that all the freemen in our Carolingian sources are likewise Salian in origin?

In seeking to show how seigneurial terminology bears out his basic theory, Balon seems drastically to indulge in what might be called an excessive juridicizing of the words he considers. According to his dictionary, *cultura* is "land of the seigneurial reserve," in spite of many texts in which it is exactly and simply a cultivated field. Does *curtis* mean a courtyard, an enclosed area, even a garden? "Superficial," is what Balon considers such interpretations; the *curtis* is "an organ of jurisdiction." Is *villa* an estate, a village, simply a place? Balon insists that it is primarily an area of jurisdiction. If Balon were content to remind us that these terms are often ambivalent, that they frequently have important juridic connotations which should be recognized, he would be beyond criticism. But Balon is impatient with economic historians who have ignored, he feels, the importance of law. He is much impressed with his own approach, in the path of which "it will be

necessary to direct one's investigations, if one wishes to make progress the social history of the Middle Ages." "Everywhere [throughout] the empire of Charlemagne, men lived daily . . . in and by judiciary institutions. . . ." But surely Balon does not mean to imply that in Carolingian times men litigated for a living, and surely we must attempt to strike a balance in attempting to reconstruct the sense of a basically ambivalent vocabulary. For the root of the problem is of course that the medieval seigneurie was at once an economic and a jurisdictional unit, and understandably the vocabulary associated with it will often have multiple connotations. To rank these connotations in the order of their supposed importance (and in the process to relegate economic historians to the fringes of Clio's retinue) surely is not a balanced approach to the history of the medieval seigneurie.

Bryn Mawr College

DAVID HERLIHY

Modern Europe

KAISER KARL V. By *Royall Tyler*. Translated from the English by *Hugo von Haan*. Foreword by *Carl J. Burckhardt*. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt. 1959. Pp. 392.)

ROYALL Tyler, a New Englander by birth and a European by education, had a long record of service with the League of Nations as an economic and financial expert and a secure place among authorities on art and architecture. The original of this volume was published (1956) three years after the death of the author, whose earlier contributions to history were made as editor of the Spanish series of the *Calendar of State Papers* (*AHR*, LXII [Oct. 1956], 189).

The translation must be compared with the English original, with which it differs in three respects: the greatly enlarged preface by Carl J. Burckhardt; the relegation of the footnotes to the end of the book; and the more complete index. The excellent illustrations are identical with one exception: there is no explanation of the replacement. Fortunately some of the occasional slips in names or dates that disturbed the reader of the earlier edition have been corrected.

In his introduction the author undertakes to devote particular attention to the decisions of Charles V that most influenced the later course of history. Accordingly he notes in his last chapter that the world order of Charles lasted basically until 1918; for, after the Napoleonic flood subsided, the landscape was revealed almost as Charles had left it. And if the first of his political structures to disappear was Italy, even that lasted three hundred years. Moreover, thanks to Charles, who handed over the family lands to his brother Ferdinand, Vienna developed its more southern way of life which spread to Venice and Lombardy. He drew the boundary between Germany and the Netherlands approximately where it is today, and he kept the French away from the Flemish coast and the estuary of the Scheldt.

Tyler saw in Charles V an astonishing aptitude for statesmanship and strategy,

as in opposing the Valois with a north-south axis which, through his conquest of Tunis, gained its southern support, and, through the marriage of Philip and Mary a northern one. The taking of Constantinople and the expulsion of the Turks was forestalled by the insolvency which led to his abdication, and neither coercion nor compromise availed against heresy.

It is profitable to compare Tyler's biography of Charles with that by Karl Brandi, veteran authority on Charles and father of a school of researchers in the field. The English translation of Brandi (1939) did not include the second volume, which contained the notes and the bibliography. Tyler offers a bibliography that would be a dividend for the reader even without the ample critical comments on documents and on literature. Tyler's book and Brandi's are not competitors; they are complementary. Tyler explains in his introduction why he has chosen the plan of dealing, one by one, with a series of principal themes. A chronological table is provided to offset the effect of not weaving all these threads into the web of a connected narrative. Brandi organized his book in such a web, but something is to be said for Tyler from a student's viewpoint. Tyler cannot be censured for leaving out the New World as a subject demanding a more thorough treatment than he can give it, and he speaks highly of Merriman, though, like Brandi, he considers him weakest on economic and financial matters.

Moscow, Idaho

FREDERIC C. CHURCH

APRÈS LE CONCILE DE TRENTE: LA RESTAURATION CATHOLIQUE, 1563-1648. By Léopold Willaert, S.J. [*Histoire de l'Église depuis les origines jusqu'à nos jours*, Volume XVIII.] ([Tournai:] Bloud & Gay; distrib. by Desclée & Cie., Tournai. 1960. Pp. 491.)

Because of the relative paucity of reliable general works concerning the period of the Catholic Reformation, Volume XVIII of the important cooperative "*Histoire de l'Église depuis les origines jusqu'à nos jours*" will be welcomed by all scholars interested in the period. Léopold Willaert, S.J., professor emeritus of the University of Namur, Belgium, here presents the first of two volumes. It is divided into two main parts. The first, on "*La vie dans l'Église institutionnelle*," covers in four books the papacy and the Roman *curia*, the episcopal hierarchy and the Restoration, the secular clergy, and the religious orders, both old and new. The incomplete second part has the title "*La vie intérieure de l'Église: Sa pensée et sa vitalité religieuse*." The first book of this part deals with the chief centers and new orientations of theology. The second book, covering doctrinal problems of the Catholic Restoration, is incomplete, for it is confined solely to various aspects of ecclesiology, leaving the treatment of the doctrines of redemption, grace, christology, mariology, and the sacraments to the projected second volume.

Willaert has handled the highly controversial subject matter of the Catholic Reformation period in an adroit and scholarly manner, presenting in a factual, ad-

mirably documented narrative the main points at issue between Catholics and Protestants and among Catholics themselves, drawing upon his wide knowledge of the age as a whole for material to explain the emergence of these issues. Only occasionally does his devotion to Catholicism lead him to plead its case, as in the development of his argument that Catholic theology was not fixed at the Council of Trent. In the best traditions of Catholic scholarship, he is not disposed to gloss over unpleasant and embarrassing facts or to accuse Protestant and humanist representatives of insincerity and ill will. Every section illustrates his dominant theme that the Catholic Reformation with all its ramifications is in harmony with the consistent and steady growth of the Church from apostolic times, yet reflects the adjustment of its leaders, institutions, and theology to the new and pressing problems of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Since the author covers a large segment of the history of the Church, his account cannot be based on original sources, and he can offer little that is new. But his amazing command of the standard secondary sources, Protestant as well as Catholic, and his meticulous organization make his work a very useful handbook for students of the period. As a matter of fact, the first part is virtually a reference work, touching in encyclopedic fashion on a host of subjects. One might wish that Willaert had sacrificed some of the details for a much fuller treatment of the dynamic qualities that underlay the successes of the Catholic Reformation. The treatment of theological doctrines and problems in the second part is presented in a masterful exposition which clarifies many complicated issues, particularly for the nontheologian. It is to be hoped that the second volume will appear in the near future.

Ohio State University

HAROLD J. GRIMM

FRANCE AND THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF EUROPE, 1800–1914: CONQUESTS OF PEACE AND SEEDS OF WAR. By *Rondo E. Cameron*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1961. Pp. xviii, 586. \$10.00.)

BECAUSE France is no longer one of the two or three leading economies of the world, it is easy for historians of the present generation to forget that this state was for a long time one of the richest of all Europe and that it was second in economic importance only to Great Britain in the first three-quarters of the nineteenth century. If we have been prone to fall into this error of "present-mindedness," this work by Professor Rondo Cameron of the University of Wisconsin should correct it. He has crammed into some 580 pages of text an enormous amount of detail regarding the manner in which the French financed the building of railways in countries like Italy and Portugal, how they lent their support to the industrialization of Germany and thus created a stiff competition for themselves, and how they exported their techniques in founding industries abroad in order to get

closer to their markets or to avoid tariff barriers. Furthermore, the author captures the confidence of his reader by extensive references to the vast range of literature and archival materials that he has studied over the last several years.

This work is a distinguished contribution to the study of the diffusion of the industrial system (and industrial capitalism) throughout Europe, a worthy companion to such works as Charles Ballot's *L'introduction du machinisme en France* (Paris, 1923) and W. O. Henderson's *Britain and Industrial Europe, 1750-1870* (Liverpool, 1954). It provides ample evidence to show that the adoption of new industrial methods is to be explained in much the same way as invention and that diffusion occurred in those areas where general economic and social conditions were similar to those where industrial change had originally taken place. Finally, this work makes clear how industrial diffusion took place in the nineteenth century with little or no regard for the eventual industrial, political, or military power positions of the states involved, that is, for the effect of a shift in the economic balance of power upon the international balance of power.

Columbia University

SHEPARD B. CLOUGH

THE HISTORIAN'S BUSINESS AND OTHER ESSAYS. By *Richard Pares*.

Edited by R. A. and *Elisabeth Humphreys*. With an introduction by *Lucy S. Sutherland*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1961. Pp. xiv, 240. \$4.00.)

WHEN Richard Pares died in 1958, the eloquent expressions of loss to the historical profession were much more than perfunctory. The tragedy of his death at fifty-five was deeply felt, for it was realized how much excellent work his mature scholarship and special talents would have produced, and, more particularly, to what degree he would have illuminated the history of the eighteenth century. He had amply demonstrated the thoroughness of his acquaintance with that era. His early publications on the economic history of the West Indies, *War and Trade in the West Indies, 1739-1763* (1936), and *Colonial Blockade and Neutral Rights* (1938), bore witness to his detailed knowledge of the eighteenth-century economy. His brilliant Ford Lectures, which appeared as *George III and the Politicians* (1953), evidenced his profound understanding of its constitutional apparatus and its political processes. The quality of these studies strongly suggests the virtues that would very likely have characterized his projected volume in the *Oxford History of England*. It likewise makes clear why he was widely considered a potential successor to Namier as the archinterpreter of the period.

The same high quality is evident throughout the volume of essays that his brother-in-law and sister have assembled. Drawn from both his early and later work, his articles and reviews, the essays reveal his wide range of interests and his versatility. Whether he was considering "The Historian's Business"—which he regarded as a highly responsible one, since distorted history, he held, "can do almost as much harm as the most disastrous scientific discovery"—or whether he was

paying tribute to his distinguished father in "Bernard Pares: A Memoir," he displayed a penetrating power of analysis combined with humor and compassion for the idiosyncrasies of human nature, and all this he expressed in a prose of outstanding literary excellence.

This literary excellence is perhaps most manifest in the biographical essays, some of which deserve a permanent place in the corpus of belles-lettres because of their style and the vividness of the portraiture. By supplying such incidental information as that the younger Pitt's "pulse rose from 80 to 120 when the green dispatch box arrived," he transforms an unsympathetic figure into a pathetic human being, one repressing terrible inner tensions in the presence of his more mature associates and assuming in the face of war and disaster a confidence that he could not feel.

Pares' approach to history was essentially humanistic, even in his economic studies, for he always saw the story as a drama of interacting personalities. Yet his view of men and events remained subject to a clear critical judgment. This characteristic is highly apparent in his essay on Toynbee's *A Study of History*. Although expressing admiration for that author's great learning, he emphatically rejected his grandiose conception. The oversimplification necessary to fit the story of mankind into any preconceived system was anathema to him, whether it was the apocalyptic prophecies of the school of cyclical recurrence or the doctrinally determined predictions of the Marxists.

Pares was no less admirable as a man than as a historian. Lucy Sutherland pays him well-deserved tribute in the beautifully written and poignant biographical sketch that introduces his collected essays.

Rutgers University

RUTH EMERY

ELIZABETHAN GOVERNMENT AND SOCIETY: ESSAYS PRESENTED
TO SIR JOHN NEALE. Edited by *S. T. Bindoff et al.* (London: University of
London, Athlone Press; distrib. by Oxford University Press, New York. 1961.
Pp. x, 423. \$8.00.)

"By their fruits ye shall know them." When applied to historians, the Biblical maxim must include both direct and indirect contributions to historical scholarship: their own writing and the writing that they stimulate in their students and their friends. The impressive direct achievement of Sir John Neale is manifest to all; no one who has attended his seminar at the Institute of Historical Research can question the importance of his indirect contribution. Yet a *Festschrift* is probably the most tangible evidence of a scholar's indirect contribution—indeed this may be its most significant function—and these thirteen interesting essays, presented to Neale by his students, his colleagues, and his friends on the occasion of his seventieth birthday, show clearly the notable features of his genius. Inevitably their quality and their appeal vary, but their topics, their range, their method re-

flect his insight into the England of Elizabeth I. Two of the essays deal with the Queen herself. Each of the Cecils is the central figure in one. Ireland, Scotland, and Wales are considered. Parliament, the Exchequer, the courts, and the church receive appropriate attention.

In the opening essay, "In Search of the Queen," C. H. Williams summarizes effectively the estimates of her character by earlier writers from John Clapham, who knew her personally, through Lingard, Froude, and Creighton, to Conyers Read, A. L. Rowse, and Neale himself. "To bring to life again a figure from the past is never easy: it is more than usually difficult when that figure is Elizabeth I of England." Yet there is no reference to Elizabeth Jenkins, nor any suggestion that Neale's biography is much the best work. Wallace MacCaffrey's essay on "Place and Patronage in Elizabethan Politics" is perhaps the most ambitious paper in the collection. Although it may be questioned whether the generalizations are based upon enough examples, his judgment seems safe. "Under the tutelage of Burghley and his royal mistress they had learned the peaceful, if sometimes corrupt, habits of a new political order." Patrick Collinson's essay on "John Field and Elizabethan Puritanism" shows its subject to have been a much more important figure than has usually been recognized. A. H. Dodd has based an equally exciting account of the life of Thomas Myddleton, a Welshman who became a major London merchant and financier and eventually lord mayor, upon a remarkable personal financial diary. Other essays treat Burghley's not very persuasive and often incomplete attempts to write propaganda, the passage through Parliament of the Statue of Artificers, Exeter merchants, the writ of *latitat*, the conflict of jealous Exchequer officials, the foundations of Anglo-Scottish union, Ireland and the Counter-Reformation, and the struggle over the succession to Elizabeth. An appendix gives a full list of Neale's published work: articles, reviews, and books.

In the paper, which has probably the greatest general interest, R. B. Wernham discusses "Elizabethan War Aims and Strategy." "In 1589 England was offered what was beyond all doubt the greatest opportunity presented to either side during the entire war. . . . For a year the remnant of Spain's naval power lay . . . helplessly inviting final destruction. . . . The great opportunity was missed. Some of the blame was clearly the Queen's, but it was not she alone, or most signally, who had done all by halves, and she had seen the essential objective more clearly than her men of war."

Combining their own researches with some general theme, the editors and contributors have well achieved their purpose: "to illustrate some of the recent trends in Tudor political and social historiography which owe so much to Sir John Neale's pioneer work and inspiration."

Pomona College

JOHN H. GLEASON

THE PROTESTANT MIND OF THE ENGLISH REFORMATION, 1570-

1640. By Charles H. and Katherine George. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1961. Pp. x, 452. \$8.50.)

This important book attempts to arrive at a new synthesis of the "Protestant ideology at flood tide." In their quest, the authors discuss almost every aspect of that ideology: its view of society, economic theory, political thought, and the family. Nor are theological issues such as the church neglected. Indeed, they stand at the forefront of the discussion for the book begins with a general chapter on the problems of salvation, sin, faith, and predestination. The conclusions stress the overwhelming dominance of the "middle way" defined as a "variety in unity"—a *via media* in which contention is accepted as a permanent aspect of the life of a unified church. It is here that the title "Protestant mind" needs modification. The Georges are quite explicit in excluding the Separatists from their synthesis, confining themselves to the Anglican Church, the mainstream of Protestant thought for them. They have read widely in the sources, though the same divines are apt to provide the examples for most of their analyses.

The larger conclusion springing from their work concerns what the authors call the conservatism and intellectual sterility of the clergy, something which, taken together with the emphasis on the *via media*, made them irrelevant to the English revolution. They do not bear directly upon nor explain the causes of this central event of the seventeenth century. This was equally true for the Puritans (the non-Separatist kind). Their allegiance to the idea of variety in unity makes it difficult to distinguish them, except by an intensity of tone, from other Anglicans. Even Presbyterianism played a major role only at the beginning of their period. This is an important thesis that deserves to be considered seriously.

But was this Protestant mind so irrelevant to events? The very intellectual sterility of the ministers was at least partly redeemed by their idea of the community which is only hinted at here, though it is mentioned as a welfare state attitude toward charity. Their support of the King included not only divine rightism but also a concept of the community, of the public good. André Bièler has lately shown us its importance for Calvin. Like their casuistry, this was an important step in the development of the modern state. More seriously, however, is the implication (made especially in the case of Laud) that the eventual destruction of the *via media* must have come from outside the religious scene. In one sense this is, of course, true, but in another it seems too limited a vision. If the Protestant mind were defined more broadly and if the heresy proceedings before the High Commission had been used, in addition to the conventional thought of the orthodox clergy, another dimension would have emerged. Christian radicalism is said to have been neutralized in the established creeds of Christendom. This may be so, but in fact it was not neutralized in the period with which this book deals. Of course, as the authors state, there is little evidence for the extraordinary agitation in Cromwell's army that can be derived from their analysis, but this only means that orthodox Christianity had given way to a radical Christianity which

always coursed beneath the ideas of an Andrews or a Perkins (who was much concerned with it). Before more varied sources have been examined by historians, it is actually difficult to say, at least on the popular level, if the Presbyterianism of Elizabethan days really did die out.

For the Anglicans discussed, the authors have learnedly proved their point. The dynamic path to revolution did not come from them or from the non-Separatist Puritans. More positively, they have opened up new perspectives on the kind of Protestant ideology that is their concern. They now propose to find out why the *via media* broke down, but this means first illuminating a "Protestant mind" historians have neglected. For that task they now have the best of credentials.

University of Wisconsin

GEORGE L. MOSSE

THE KING'S SERVANTS: THE CIVIL SERVICE OF CHARLES I, 1625-1642. By 'G. E. Aylmer. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1961. Pp. xii, 521. \$8.75.)

THIS volume is a brilliant study of the civil service in England during the reign of Charles I from his accession in 1625 to the beginning of the Civil War in 1642. Dr. Aylmer is not primarily concerned with the great officers of state, though they constantly come into the picture, but rather with the mass of subordinate officials in the central government. He investigates the ways in which these officials obtained appointments and promotions, their security of tenure in office, their sources of income, their education and social background, their efficiency and the conditions under which they worked, their standards of honesty, duty, and allegiance, and what they did in 1642 when faced with the harsh necessity of choosing sides. On these and on many other points Aylmer brings together a great mass of information which he analyzes with keen precision and illustrates with numerous lists and tables.

Political life had degenerated under James I, and corrupt practices had hardened into a system that defied reform. The cardinal difficulty was the poverty of the crown. Stipendiary fees were so low that officials were permitted to supplement their incomes by pluralism (though this might be merely a sensible combination of functions), by patronage, by the sale of their offices, by free board and lodging at court (a most wasteful method of remuneration), and by fees and gratuities from all who had business to transact with the government. Aylmer estimates that fees and gratuities amounted to something between £250,000 and £400,000 a year and thus constituted an important form of indirect taxation. Certain offices, if exploited without scruple, could produce great income. Charles desired reform. But he was frustrated by the large amount of patronage in the hands of great men, by the opposition of officeholders who feared they would suffer financially, and by the vicious system of reversions, which determined the succession to offices long before vacancies occurred. Yet the system should not be

judged by notorious scoundrels such as George Mynne or Sir Henry Croke. Aylmer concludes that most officials "must have worked moderately hard, with fair efficiency, sticking mainly to precedent and routine, with reasonable loyalty to the Crown, and profiting only moderately out of their positions."

Criticisms of this excellent volume are largely matters of opinion. It seems to me that Aylmer is too lenient in judging the Duke of Buckingham, who poisoned the whole tone of the administration. The final chapter is less a summary of conclusions than a series of afterthoughts. And the author might have included a master list of all officials, for such a list would have been useful to other scholars.

University of Minnesota

DAVID HARRIS WILLSON

THE BRITISH DIPLOMATIC SERVICE, 1689-1789. By *D. B. Horn*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1961. Pp. xv, 324. \$6.75.)

THIS superlative monograph, based principally upon the great corpus of published sources, is a new "standard work." Between 1689 and 1789, British diplomacy became professional, owing chiefly to the close continental connections of William III and the Hanoverians and to the great extension of commercial and colonial activities throughout the world. It became national, too, with the intervention of Parliament in the royal civil list in the 1780's marking the culmination of the process. Throughout much of the period, service abroad was both unpopular and unfashionable among upper-class Englishmen. Hence the employment of aliens, sometimes in the highest diplomatic ranks. By 1789 foreigners had been supplanted by native Englishmen, by increasing numbers of Scots, and even a few Irish. The influx of North Britons notably preceded the arrival of Lord Bute upon the scene and continued on a rising scale after his departure. (With some facetiousness, it might be asked if chauvinism led Professor Horn to detect a native capacity for foreign languages and diplomacy among his fellow Scots. Would not Dr. Johnson have another explanation for their willingness to serve abroad?)

The organization of the service, its costs, the gradations of rank and emoluments (including stockjobbing) are examined thoroughly. It is interesting, too, to learn that the problem of recruitment caused the government to found in 1724 the Regius professorships in modern history at Oxford and Cambridge. As the plan had as its primary goal the production not of diplomatists but of Whigs, the assumption being that "Tory principles could not survive an historical education," its almost total failure causes no surprise. Even so, the advantages of higher academic preparation could only have been limited in training a diplomatist to discharge his primary duties, reporting home and executing orders from thence.

The work concludes with a survey of ceremonial and privilege, communications, the place of consuls and of secret agents, and, finally, of literary contributions made by diplomatists, among whom must be listed names as eminent as Bolingbroke and Hume.

Shortcomings are minor. A fuller bibliography would have been welcome, as would an additional appendix listing in some order the names of the multitude of persons mentioned in the text. There is also a curious failure to exploit the career of William Eden, Lord Auckland (whose first mission abroad, as American historians know, came in 1778, not 1786). Eden's activities would have demonstrated magnificently the validity of Horn's generalizations. It is therefore doubly unfortunate that the malicious private letter from Lord Carmarthen to Sir James Harris, in which the Secretary of State joins in ridiculing Eden, whom he detested, as fit only for the post of envoy to the new United States, should be used in a misleading context. These are Homeric nods; they detract not at all from the substance of Horn's splendid book.

Kenyon College

CHARLES R. RITCHESON

WORSHIP AND THEOLOGY IN ENGLAND: FROM WATTS AND WESLEY TO MAURICE, 1690-1850. By *Horton Davies*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1961. Pp. xiv, 355. \$7.50.)

THIS volume by the professor of the history of Christianity at Princeton is the third in a projected five-volume work on English theology and worship. Volumes I and II will deal with the period from the Reformation to 1690 (and will supersede Davies' earlier *Worship of the English Puritans*); Volumes IV and V will cover, respectively, the years 1850-1900 and 1900-1960.

At first sight, this appears to be a scholarly historical study with the appropriate bibliographical apparatus and a chronological organization, but the first impression is wrong. This is essentially a work, not of history, but of religious propaganda. The author, an English Congregational minister as well as a professor, is addressing English Protestant Christians (men for whom the Bible is "Divine Revelation" and Christ "Our Lord"); his purpose is to further the union of English Protestant sects; his thesis is that English Protestants "are likelier to attain unity in worship than in doctrinal consensus," and he is much more interested in liturgy and worship than in theology.

Part I is a rambling discussion and condemnation of the dominance of rationalistic moralism in English Protestantism from 1690 to 1740; Part II treats sympathetically some aspects of evangelicalism (Methodist and Anglican) from 1740 to 1830; Part III discusses the Oxford movement, 1830-1850, and concludes with a paean of praise for F. D. Maurice.

Davies is not interested primarily in understanding the past, and he does not attempt a systematic account of English Protestant worship. He selects a few facts to illustrate his thesis and makes almost no attempt to explain, in the historian's terms, why things happened as they did. At least twice he attributes events to the working of the "Holy Spirit"—a religious, but not a historical explanation. He describes at length, and praises, the liturgical ideas of F. D. Maurice, not because

they are historically important, but because he wishes to persuade English Protestants to adopt Maurice's "mediating theology, which refuses to take the extreme Evangelical view . . . or to take the Tractarian view in an extreme form" and which reinforces Davies' claim that while English "Protestantism's strength is to be found in theology, preaching, and ethics, its worship requires the supplementation of the Catholic tradition."

Here and there in this volume the historian will find a description of a Baptist immersion, an analysis of the rhetoric of Wesley, or quotations from a satire on Whitefield, which will delight and instruct him. But he will have to drudge to find them for this volume, beautifully designed and made as Princeton University Press books usually are, is badly written and badly edited.

Rutgers University

RICHARD SCHLATTER

SIR ROBERT WALPOLE: THE KING'S MINISTER. By *J. H. Plumb*. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1961. Pp. xi, 363. \$5.50.)

THIS, the second of three volumes, is first-rate political biography, based on the most authoritative sources, including many family papers new to the historian. Dr. Plumb is a master of structural analysis, but he uses it to create the setting for personality. He is impelled less by admiration for Walpole than by enthusiasm for so complex a historical subject, and his enthusiasm is infectious. Walpole combined coarse manners with fine taste, anxiety with the pride of power, ruthlessness with moderation—"complete political impotence was all he desired" for his enemies, not death or exile. And he maneuvered so well that a time of turbulence and insecurity has come down in history as an illusory age of stability and calm. In 1722 he was on the threshold of power, still fearful of his status and the prey of obsessions like Jacobitism. During the next ten years he secured preponderance by the skillful manipulation of court, cabinet, and House of Commons. His achievement was displayed in the artistic magnificence and lavish hospitality of Houghton. But success led only to imminent peril from crises abroad and at home which subsided barely in time to give him a safe though reduced majority in the election of 1734. His career had reached, and passed, its peak; his character was hardening. Such is the span of this central volume, and its pervading theme. Whereas the earlier volume opened with chapters setting the domestic scene, this begins with Europe, introducing a period in which the minister who never set foot on foreign soil had perforce to learn something of affairs outside England. He was no match for Fleury, and his hand-to-mouth foreign policy, which makes dull reading, is unimpressive when compared with the domestic procedures by which he dominated and cajoled a restive nation.

Plumb also excels in depicting character and conduct, not only of Walpole himself but of lesser men: "homespun" Horatio, whose unassuming loyalty meant so much to his brother; Newcastle, with good sense and judgment peeping through

the gushing torrent of his correspondence, or, in Parliament, "churning up facts and ideas" to envelop disagreement "in a warm soothing fog"; Egmont, with his hollow claim of independence; George II, errant but uxorious, some of whose habits of mind and of business seem to have descended to his grandson. Plumb emphasizes the novelty of Walpole's choosing to remain in the Commons although the House of Lords, normally safe for the ministry, was actually more important than has been generally recognized. He shows the strong reasons for popular opposition to the Excise, even though that crisis was also the culmination of a long campaign of hate. He calls attention not only to the sheer complexity of Walpole's task but to the unforeseen results of a policy resting on the separate foundations of administrative ability and the power of patronage. The very means that created the "old corps," with all its apparatus of "influence," out of the traditional machinery of an ancient kingdom, guaranteed it against efficiency when its founder departed. Walpole stands alone, a master of improvisation.

University of California, Berkeley

G. H. GUTTRIDGE

HORACE WALPOLE'S CORRESPONDENCE WITH GEORGE SELWYN, LORD LINCOLN, SIR CHARLES HANBURY WILLIAMS, HENRY FOX, RICHARD EDGCUMBE. Edited by *W. S. Lewis* and *Robert A. Smith*. [The Yale Edition of Horace Walpole's Correspondence, Volume XXX.] (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1961. Pp. xlviii, 479. \$15.00.)

HORACE WALPOLE'S CORRESPONDENCE WITH HANNAH MORE, LADY BROWNE, LADY MARY COKE, LADY HERVEY, MARY HAMILTON (MRS. JOHN DICKENSON), LADY GEORGE LENNOX, ANNE PITT, LADY SUFFOLK. Edited by *W. S. Lewis et al.* [The Yale Edition of Horace Walpole's Correspondence, Volume XXXI.] (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1961. Pp. xl, 528. \$15.00.)

THE two latest volumes in the Yale Edition of Horace Walpole's Correspondence cover fifty-seven of his eighty years. They represent thirteen correspondents and reveal, in more breadth but less detail than many previous volumes, the scope of Walpole's interests. The letters in each volume are arranged chronologically instead of being grouped according to authors. With a few exceptions, therefore, the individuals, other than Walpole, fail to come to life, at least on first reading. Coherence depends on the extent to which the correspondents belonged to the same circles and spoke the same language.

Walpole specialists will welcome the ninety-two letters printed here for the first time, including eighty-two from Walpole himself. Twenty-five of these were addressed to Lord Lincoln (Henry Fiennes-Clinton; after 1768 Second Duke of Newcastle), beginning when Walpole was in his early twenties and Lord Lincoln, three years younger. They disclose a rather pathetic chapter in Walpole's life, for

Lord Lincoln, though aggressive in his early attentions, ignored Walpole's later attempts to continue their friendship.

Much pleasanter and more rewarding is the correspondence with George Augustus Selwyn, the "wit," covering the years 1749–1786. Twenty-six of these letters are now published for the first time. Walpole and Selwyn had known each other from childhood and required no pretense. They liked and amused each other. They understood each other's allusions and bons mots for they had the same friends in London and Paris, where Selwyn had introduced Walpole to Madame du Deffand. Unfortunately Selwyn's own entertaining letters are missing.

As for the other correspondents in Volume XXX, Sir Charles Hanbury Williams, the diplomat and poet, and Richard Edgcumbe (Second Baron Edgcumbe, 1758) were also members of Walpole's early London coterie. Williams delighted Walpole by his wit, but Walpole must have found Edgcumbe boring for he took no pains to develop their correspondence. Henry Fox was the politician of the group. Most of the Fox correspondence has been printed previously. "Walpole's Character of Henry Fox, 1748," however, is "new" and doubly interesting because the editors have provided a skillful comparison of Walpole's treatment of Fox in this sketch with that in his *Memoirs* and offer a logical explanation of the inconsistencies.

Walpole's correspondence with seven of his women friends, contained in Volume XXXI, is naturally somewhat more gallant. Yet it portrays the same Walpole, seeking entertainment and to entertain. These friends ranged in age from the one-time mistress of George II, the elderly Lady Suffolk, who was about thirty-six years Walpole's senior, to the charming Mary Hamilton (Mrs. John Dickenson), who was thirty-nine years his junior. Each of these friends could make some special contribution to his diversions. Lady Suffolk, his neighbor at Twickenham, recalled for him her days at court, though the letters deal with current subjects. Both Lady Hervey (the beautiful Mary Lepell) and Lady George Lennox (Lady Louisa Ker), had, plus other attractions, important connections in France and performed various services for Walpole. Lady Mary Coke, the traveler and diarist, provoked his mirth by her weakness for royalty. Anne Pitt, sister of the Earl of Chatham, consulted him about interior decorations for her house, while Mary Hamilton needed only to be herself—gay and witty.

The twenty-six newly printed letters in Volume XXXI consist primarily of correspondence with Lady Browne (Frances Sheldon), a merry neighbor at Twickenham, and Hannah More, author, reformer, and philanthropist. Hannah More, whose letters as well as Walpole's are available, is the most natural and delightful among these correspondents. Walpole appears here in a somewhat unusual light as he expresses a seemingly genuine concern for some if not all of her various causes.

The editorial work continues to be superb. Particularly noteworthy is the way in which the editors have discretely interspersed extracts from other sources among

these letters to carry on the narrative where there are gaps in the original correspondence and have used unpublished manuscripts in Mr. Lewis' possession to explain otherwise obscure allusions.

Chambersburg, Pennsylvania

DORA MAE CLARK

FREDERICK WILLIAM MAITLAND AND THE HISTORY OF ENGLISH LAW. By *James R. Cameron*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1961. Pp. xvi, 214. \$4.00.)

At the end of his first chapter Professor Cameron says a word about his main objects, which were "to gain an insight into Maitland's mind, methods, and concepts of history," examine his contributions to the history of English law, and determine "which of his conclusions are still accepted and which have been modified or abandoned." He also had the laudable desire, as becomes clear later on, to improve on earlier Maitland bibliographies, and here his success is beyond question. It is a pleasure to remark that he has given us what is by far the fullest and most useful bibliography that has been published. It includes, besides Maitland's own writings, among which his reviews are listed, reviews of his writings by others and biographical and other writings about him.

As to what the author has to say about Maitland as a historian, an equally clear-cut judgment cannot be given. Though he has undoubtedly read very extensively in Maitland's works, he may have been overinfluenced by what others, to whom he makes candid references, have said about them. Sometimes he makes statements that are too positive, as when he says Maitland "determined" that the Year Books were notebooks of law students who were attending court sessions. This was Maitland's opinion regarding the earlier Year Books, which he had studied, but it has not gone unchallenged. Though petty faultfinding is never desirable in a review, or indeed anywhere else, it may be noted that sufficient pains have not always been taken to safeguard the sanctity of quotation marks. In the last quotation on page four from *Domesday Book and Beyond*, for example, the last word should be "ideas," not "ideals" and in the quotation from Vinogradoff's article on Maitland, "watch in his chambers," which makes good sense, has become "watch his chamber," which makes none.

It is, however, in the series of chapters in which the author considers Maitland's contributions to English legal history and how his opinions have fared in the light of later research, comprising by far the greater part of his book, that he makes his contribution to the literature on Maitland. And it is not a slight contribution. It is a critique from which Maitland emerges with undiminished luster.

A singular point of orthography has unfortunately been made conspicuous in the very first word of the title, in which Maitland's first name is misspelled. If this were a mere typographical error, it might be better to pass it over in silence, but the publisher has decided otherwise. The University of Oklahoma Press has cir-

cularized all the journals to which review copies of the book were sent with a printed slip in which it is stated, correctly, that Maitland "was christened Frederic and spelled his name thus." This is, of course, decisive as to the right spelling.

Rochester, New York

ROBERT LIVINGSTON SCHUYLER

THE NEGRO IN FRANCE. By *Shelby T. McCloy*. ([Lexington:] University of Kentucky Press. 1961. Pp. viii, 278. \$7.00.)

THIS is a study of the Negro who came to France. Its scope in time ranges from the sixteenth century to roughly the first year of the Fifth Republic. Generally, the chapters devoted to the nineteenth and twentieth centuries are more detailed than the earlier ones, though the three chapters on the Revolution are certainly exceptions. The revolutionaries talked much about slavery, the trade, the status of the mulattoes, and they legislated. In 1794 the slaves in the colonies were freed with a stroke of the pen; slavery in France did not exist legally, but it did exist—one of those niceties where legality comes against practice.

In the early chapters the author has worked exceedingly hard to locate manuscript materials bearing upon his elusive subject. The restricted activity of the Negro in France before 1789 and the piecemeal nature of the materials describing him mean that these chapters are more narrow, legalistic, and heavily factual. They are nevertheless extremely informative.

Napoleon I restored slavery in the colonies, and the Second Republic in 1848 followed the Jacobin policy of abruptly freeing all slaves. In France itself the late nineteenth and the twentieth centuries witnessed the fulfillment of the Negro in the university, the theater, the *boîte de nuit*, on the playing fields of peace and war, and finally in what Professor McCloy calls "bigtime politics."

After 1919 Negroes went to France, particularly Paris, in increasing numbers. "To the Negro race Paris is Mecca, and France the Promised Land." American Negroes also loved Paris and no doubt found, at one time, a freedom and an acceptance that were lacking both in our own South and in northern cities. Yet living accommodations, even in Paris, were not always easy to find, and prejudice walks the streets of that city, too. All things considered, the French moved quite far down the road of acceptance, probably in part because the numbers of Negroes were small and their influence even smaller. France's acceptance of the Negro proved a great asset in dealing with its former sub-Saharan territories. Leaders who emerged in the new independent African states which came out of the French community in 1960 often had a soft spot in their hearts for France and its ways. Leopold Senghor could remember that "the colonizers of yesterday are the friends of tomorrow" at the same time he could hope "that the process of decolonization will finally bring a settlement of the Algerian question, a problem so painful to our African hearts." This echoed Félix Houphouët Boigny's very good advice given to *colon* opponents of the Algerian Statute of 1947 during the debate in the

National Assembly. "Are you going to admit that the partisans of total independence are right by refusing the outstretched hands of the advocates of French Union?"

In Guinea, the one colony which, as Rayford Logan has cogently remarked, voted independence in 1958 in the referendum, possibly the basic reason was that Sekou Touré had no *lycée* or university training either in Africa or France. Today with twenty-six independent African states, hewed in many cases from the French imperial log, the importance of the Negro in France as well as in the United States can scarcely be overestimated. What is clear is that in African states where the leaders have a happy souvenir of their training in France, there is a fair chance for good relationships. Also relationships are best where *colons* have been fewest.

Northwestern University

RICHARD M. BRACE

BEAUVAIS ET LE BEAUVAISIS DE 1600 À 1730. Volume I, CONTRIBUTION À L'HISTOIRE SOCIALE DE LA FRANCE DU XVII^e SIÈCLE; Volume II, CARTES ET GRAPHIQUES, PAR LE LABORATOIRE DE CARTOGRAPHIE DE L'ÉCOLE PRATIQUE DES HAUTES ÉTUDES. By *Pierre Goubert*. [École Pratique des Hautes Études, VI^e Section. Centre de Recherches Historiques. Démographie et sociétés, Volume III.] (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N. 1960. Pp. lxxii, 653; 119.)

By an intensive investigation of the geographic, social, and economic structure and development of a relatively small area, this important book illuminates a field of inquiry that, until recently, has been almost ignored. It is, in addition, so well done, so carefully organized and developed, and so solidly based in new and often exciting sources that it will become required reading for anyone interested in early modern Europe. Goubert has ransacked the departmental archives of the Oise, the Somme, and the Aisne, the manuscript collections of the Municipal Library of Beauvais and the Bibliothèque Nationale, the archives and records of parish churches, hospitals, and other institutions of the area, and many private collections. When one sees the amount of material that he has plowed through and realizes the problems of paleography involved, one well wonders if the author was really sorry that the fire of 1940 destroyed another mountain of records in Beauvais. In addition to the manuscript material, he presents us with a thirty-four-page bibliography of printed works. A perusal of the footnotes will testify to his intelligent use of all these sources.

Where should one begin to discuss a study that deals with so many facets of social and economic life? The author's analysis of the demographic structure of seventeenth-century Beauvais confirms and modifies some earlier studies. By painstakingly following the lives of some four hundred families in Auneuil, Goubert has evidence more trustworthy than most of the statistics compiled for this period.

One of the many interesting discoveries is the fact that the women did not marry, on the average, until their twenty-second to twenty-fourth years, and that it is pure legend that they were pregnant every year and sterile by thirty-five. The patterns of death are also instructive. Just under 50 per cent of the children survived to the twentieth year, and for the next thirty-year period about the same number of people died in each five-year age group up to fifty. Only a small percentage reached fifty. Plague and disease seem to have been endemic; famine was the dramatic killer that brutally readjusted any growth in the population.

The meticulous analysis of the structure of landholding, size of fields, contracts for cultivation, type and yield of crops, number of animals, and indeed of the entire economy and sociology of the countryside is the most complete and most searching that I have ever seen. There were a few wealthy peasants like those painted by Le Nain, but the majority lived very near the edge of misery; Goubert's analysis of their annual budgets speaks volumes about the conditions of life. The clergymen who cared for the spiritual needs of the rural peasantry were never the sons of the poor, nor did they live on the cultural and economic level of their parishioners. They came largely from the homes of the relatively well-to-do bourgeois families in the nearby towns. The reform movement instituted by Bishop Choart reveals that their morals were at times open to some question.

Analyses of urban life, particularly in Beauvais during these years when the military importance of the city declined, are also revealing. The cloth industry comes to life as a social and economic problem. Of the sixty-three shops producing cloth at the end of the seventeenth century, only one employed as many as twenty-two workers of all kinds, seventeen employed ten or more, and twenty had four or less. Of the city taxes paid by households, one in a thousand paid more than a hundred livres, while 58 per cent paid two livres or less. In the town, as in the country, the few people beyond the threat of misery included the clergy, a few officials and professional people, and a few merchant-manufacturers, totaling perhaps two hundred families in a population of nearly three thousand families. The majority were in the same uncomfortable position that plagued the rural population.

While the first half of the book presents an anthropological picture, in the second half we see the same rural and urban society as a problem in time: the demographic, social, and economic fluctuations between 1600 and 1730. The demographic history, with its occasional striking excess of deaths over births and the rare years when death's hand was stayed, allowing the population to recover, explains only too well why the towns and villages did not grow in these years. In spite of a birth rate approximating thirty per thousand, the population could not grow until after the mid-eighteenth century. In economic development Goubert finds the already familiar fact that the sixteenth-century price rise continued into the seventeenth century and then leveled off. This study, however, would indicate that after 1630 there was a continuous decline in prices for a century. A careful analysis of the graphs in *Cartes et Graphiques*, which accompanies this study,

made in connection with the chapters on rents and salaries, will clarify the human problems created by declining prices.

A book on this scale cannot be adequately discussed in a short review; it must, indeed, be read to be appreciated. It is to be hoped that studies of this kind will be made for other areas of Europe. When they are available, our understanding of the years between the Reformation and the French Revolution will be greatly improved.

University of Minnesota

JOHN B. WOLF

LES PAYSANS DE LA BOURGOGNE DU NORD AU DERNIER SIÈCLE DE L'ANCIEN RÉGIME. By *P. de Saint Jacob*. [Publications de l'Université de Dijon, Number 21.] (Paris: Société les Belles Lettres. 1960. Pp. xxxvi, 643.)

THIS exhaustive regional study based on the departmental archives of Côte-d'Or (Dijon) continues in the tradition established by Georges Lefebvre, Gaston Roupnel, Henri Sée, and Marcel Marion. Much more than an encyclopedic review of peasant conditions, it is a comprehensive analysis of the entire agrarian structure of northern Burgundy in the last century of the old regime. The study focuses on the institutional rivalry between village community and *seigneurie*, between intendant and parlement over agricultural policy, and the more fundamental contest between communal rights and the "agrarian individualism" of new capital and "new men." By going back to 1685, Saint Jacob exposes the vicissitudes of agricultural depression and prosperity, the periodical infusions of fresh capital (from robe nobles, merchants, and professional men), and the impact of not one, but several "seigneurial reactions" culminating in what the author calls the "physiocratic offensive" after 1762. Although Saint Jacob overemphasizes the effect of physiocratic ideas on agricultural activity, he clearly demonstrates that by 1789 the commercialized domain *métairie* had swept aside communal rights and the interests of the small peasant farmer. The seigneur, whether noble, bourgeois, or Church order, had become an aggressive entrepreneur profiting from every occasion to enforce his seigneurial rights, enlarge his estate, and lease his farms at highest possible rents. The author also shows that larger estates (the privileged orders held perhaps two-thirds of the soil in 1789), the extension of enclosures, and the physiocratic "bon prix" did not lead to new agricultural techniques or any increase in productivity.

This study answers in detail many questions long posed by Marc Bloch about the extent of the seigneurial reaction and also reveals the influence of the Labrousse school. In this regard, Saint Jacob is a bit too anxious to confirm the hypotheses of Labrousse, and his handling of statistical evidence is unsatisfactory. He does not conclusively establish, for example, that share croppers on "average domains" were "buyers" in the grain market and that any rise in grain prices would automatically hurt the peasant farmer. In general, this is history by example, though

in such abundance that it seems a pity that Saint Jacob did not arrange more statistical samples in tabular form. Unfortunately, the *vingtième* rolls at Dijon do not provide the precise information on landholding found in other archives of France. On the other hand, the author makes good use of the *centième denier* (property transfer tax) rolls, and in the appendix he attempts to compare some of his price and rent data with Labrousse's findings and thus relate his regional study to the national scene.

On balance, this prodigious work bears the stamp of Gaston Roupnel much more than Ernest Labrousse. Like Roupnel, Saint Jacob, as he wrote, obviously knew every fold of the Burgundian countryside and thus was able to capture the flavor of the wheat harvest or the vine planting in a manner no statistic could. More important, he perceived the passing of the communal village as an institution no revolution could preserve or regain.

University of Nebraska

ROBERT FORSTER

THE CALAS AFFAIR: PERSECUTION, TOLERATION, AND HERESY
IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY TOULOUSE. By *David D. Bien*. (Princeton,
N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1960. Pp. ix, 199. \$4.00.)

VIEWED narrowly, this important monograph by Dr. David D. Bien is a critical re-examination of the testimony of the trial of Jean Calas, accused and convicted of murdering his son, Marc-Antoine. In its larger setting it is a searching study of evolving Catholic opinion of Protestants and Protestantism in the Toulouse area from the 1750's to about the coming of the Revolution. The two inquiries form a whole; taken together they provide a persuasive and convincing revision of the conventional explanations and interpretations of both the intellectual and emotional setting and the Calas case itself which, in the polemical writing of Voltaire and other philosophes, is represented as a signal illustration of religious superstition and intolerance.

With those explanations the author is not in full accord. The salient points of his lucid, discerning, and judicious study are the following: at the least a judicial error if not a crime was committed in 1761-1762 when by due process Jean Calas was condemned to death; there was no strictly religious reason that would have led one to expect the persecution of Calas because, spasmodic hostility notwithstanding, "the relations of Protestants with Catholics did not differ markedly from the relations of Catholics with Catholics"; there was, however, a latent hostility composed of persistent historical components of belief which in the popular Catholic mind associated Protestantism with social disorder and, in the more sophisticated thinking of the magistrates of the parlement of Toulouse, held that Protestants and Protestantism were a danger to the hardly attained political unity of France which it was their duty to crush; under the impress of the special circumstances of the particular moment "toleration by indifference" was transformed

into ungrounded fears, frustrations, and alarms; the trial procedure of the parlement, while typically severe, was not a lynching, though it was heavily charged with prejudice and based on the *a priori* assumption that calculated homicide by a Protestant family on religious grounds was possible; the majority of uneducated Catholics of Toulouse were deeply imbued with the fanatical intolerance that there was a hidden inner necessity between the guilty homicidal family and the doctrines of Calvin; and after quiet and sanity returned to Toulouse, the following quarter of a century witnessed a concurrent erosion of Catholic religious feeling and spread of the ideas of the Enlightenment so that by 1789 Catholics no longer regarded Protestants as either un-Christian or un-French.

This presentation of the main argument, however brief, is in my opinion necessary to do justice to the significance of this valuable revisionist study. Yet it only suggests how carefully and methodically Bien has made his way through the mass of manuscript records and with what shaded judgment he has presented his conclusions. While his final chapter on the new toleration is more sketchy than detailed, it is good to know that he is actively continuing his researches in the field of the related religious-political tension of the period.

New York University

LEO GERSHOY

PAYSANS DE L'OUEST (DES STRUCTURES ÉCONOMIQUES ET SOCIALES AUX OPTIONS POLITIQUES DEPUIS L'ÉPOQUE RÉVOLUTIONNAIRE DANS LA SARTHE). By *Paul Bois*. (Le Mans: Mouton & Co. 1960. Pp. xix, 716.)

THIS thesis on the peasantry in the Sarthe will arouse debate. It is the first definitive study of the peasantry since Georges Lefebvre's *Les Paysans du Nord* (1924) and illustrates the potentialities for new interpretations based on the research methods sponsored by Professor Ernest Labrousse, director of the thesis. Bois's discoveries about the peasantry of this section of western France point up both similarities and differences from the north of France, but both Lefebvre and Bois conclude that conditions in one department are revealing for a whole area of France. His secondary thesis on the *cahiers* of Château-du-Loir provided Bois with important source material, but he has also presented an enormous documentation from tax rolls, electoral records, and official surveys.

Aside from this factual material, the volume is significant for its refutation of many classic interpretations. The first 150 pages refute André Siegfried's explanation of peasant voting in western France in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In studying agricultural conditions on the eve of the Revolution, Bois refuted Sée on the oppressiveness of the feudal and seigneurial regimes and on widespread *métayage*. One whole chapter near the end of the book summarizes prior interpretations of the peasantry, and Bois confirms or refutes them. He asserted

that the peasantry were not an inert, silent mass, but developed their own collective mentality.

His minute study of documents led him to divide the Sarthe into two areas with divergent political, social, and economic conditions and with different peasant collective character. Peasant homogeneity in the west contrasted with diversity in the east where peasant attitudes were modified by a sizable group of rural hemp workers. Although both areas welcomed the Revolution of 1789, the peasants of the more prosperous west were more quickly disillusioned by the failure of the Revolution to confer benefits on the peasantry who were largely motivated by self-interest and had little concern for national affairs. A latent distrust of townsmen grew into hostility and rejection of town leadership in the elections of 1790 and 1791. Bois claims that the division into active and passive citizens by the National Assembly excluded very few rural voters. The virtual universal suffrage was vitiated, however, by high abstentionism, an early sign of disillusionment of the rural population with the Revolution, whose benefits they believed had been reaped by the townsmen. Contrasts between the hopes of the peasants expressed in the *cahiers*, an actual rise in rural taxes, and severe repression of peasant opposition by the national guards—an urban militia—led to rejection of Jacobin urban leadership. Finally, the attempt to enforce conscription led to the *Chouannerie*, a six-year guerrilla war, merged in part with the Vendean civil war. The eastern Sarthe never participated in this uprising and in some areas even combated it. Bois asserts that the Chouans were not motivated by defense of Catholicism or royalism, but by peasant self-interest. The length and ruthlessness of the Chouan war strengthened the cleavage between peasantry of east and west, and the divergent revolutionary tradition has endured into the twentieth century.

This volume is a landmark not only for a study of the peasantry under the old regime and Revolution, but also for the study of social and economic structure, elections and collective psychology, past and present. It is a model for the utilization of similar historical records for other parts of France.

Hunter College

BEATRICE F. HYSLOP

LOUIS BLANC: HIS LIFE AND HIS CONTRIBUTION TO THE RISE OF FRENCH JACOBIN-SOCIALISM. By *Leo A. Loubère*. [Northwestern University Studies in History, Number 1.] ([Evanston, Ill.:] Northwestern University Press. 1961. Pp. xii, 256. \$6.50.)

PROFESSOR Loubère has written the most complete and authoritative biography of Louis Blanc in English. Though he has dealt only briefly with his subject's personal affairs, he has carefully analyzed Blanc's theories and described his political action. His scholarship is exemplary. He searched through several French libraries to turn up Blanc's unpublished correspondence, but since most of it proved to be of limited historical interest, he based his study primarily on a meticulous exami-

nation of Blanc's published writings, contemporary memoirs, previous biographies, and specialized monographs. Though certain translations of Blanc's speeches are awkward, the author's style is generally clear and smooth; at times, especially in his long section on the Revolution of 1848, it is colorful and dramatic. It seems a pity that the publisher did not see fit to include any illustrations (not even a single photograph of Blanc) to accompany the more graphic descriptions.

Blanc's major contribution was intellectual; "he was," Loubère correctly points out, "a far more skillful thinker than a politician, and a dismal failure as an organizer." His doctrine, the clearest expression in the nineteenth century of what the author calls "Jacobin-socialism," was a combination of radical politics and socialist economics. Imbued with a Jacobin faith in popular sovereignty, Blanc believed that the democratic Republic, by establishing social workshops and guaranteeing the right to work, could reach the goal of equality and avoid a bloody revolution. Very little in Blanc's doctrine was original, and from the vantage point of the present, his democratic socialism seems almost banal. But unlike such theorists as Fourier, Pecqueur, Leroux, and Vidal, he was a brilliant journalist and polemicist who reached a wide audience and "stimulated the already growing political consciousness of the workers." By insisting that democracy was the key to socialism and by outlining a program of reforms, Blanc became a maker of the Revolution of 1848.

As a political leader, however, Blanc was almost tragically ineffective. "Like most moderate reformers," Loubère points out, "he was just as fearful of the extremists on the left as of those on the right." Hoping for the good will of moderate republicans and fearing the direct revolutionary action of the masses, Blanc stood by almost helplessly while his ideals were ignored and the workers, for whose welfare he devoted his life, were shot down. A humane man who hated violence, he ultimately fell silent when the Commune was crushed and ended his life among the republican politicians of the Third Republic. His career is a long commentary on the dilemma of democracy and the tragic demands of revolution.

The author has analyzed all this with great skill and candor. He could have strengthened his book, however, if he had described those social and economic conditions of the early nineteenth century that stimulated Blanc's socialism. Certainly the classic works of Eugène Buret, Baron Villermé, and Adolphe Blanqui and recent studies like Louis Chevalier's *Classes laborieuses et classes dangereuses* would have provided the basis for such a description. Furthermore, he should have analyzed more carefully the other approaches to socialism, which competed with Blanc's. His analysis of Proudhon is inadequate, and his references to Blanqui and Marx seem unduly pejorative. Blanc certainly posed the question of social change and proposed some answers; it would be futile, however, to intimate that he had closed the discussion.

Ohio State University

HARVEY GOLDBERG

GEORGES DUFAUD ET LES DÉBUTS DU GRAND CAPITALISME DANS LA MÉTALLURGIE, EN NIVERNAIS, AU XIX^e SIÈCLE. By *Guy Thuillier*. Preface by *Paul Leuilliot*. [École Pratique des Hautes Études, VI^e Section. Centre de Recherches Historiques. Affaires et gens d'affaires, Number 20.] (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N. 1959. Pp. xii, 254.)

In spite of the title, this is more the story of an enterprise and an industry than of a man—of the iron and steel firm of Fourchambault (later Fourchambault-Commentry) and metallurgy in the Nivernais rather than of Georges Dufaud, entrepreneur and innovator. The book offers also a brief history of the Decize coal mine, located up the Loire from Fourchambault and dependent upon it under the July Monarchy for a large fraction of its sales. More than a third of the volume is taken by *pièces justificatives*: balance sheets, correspondence, memoranda, and personal papers.

This monograph was written under the direction of Paul Leuilliot and shows, in its richness of documentation and proliferation of allusions, the influence of that master of bibliography and detail. In particular, Mr. Thuillier has built on an exceptional body of private sources, and these enable him to give us a fascinating and often intimate picture of a whole group of metallurgical entrepreneurs, whose family and business connections are typical of the tight structure of the French industrial *patronat* in this period.

For all its merits, however, the study leaves much to be desired. Leuilliot describes the book in his preface as “historical economics.” It is anything but that. Indeed the author’s major weakness is his lack of the tools of economic analysis. As a result, he confuses certain issues (thus page 43: “no doubt this high cost price of iron was to yield handsome profits” [a problem of terminology, here]; and page 51, where a sellers’ market and diminished international competition seem to lead to lower prices and lower profits). He misses opportunities to put his data in a meaningful context. Worst of all, he misreads the evidence and misinterprets the significance of his story.

Leuilliot announces the major theme of the book: that Fourchambault is evidence of a new entrepreneurial mentality—“the spirit of large-scale enterprise, aiming at mass production at low prices.” And Thuillier speaks of the same spirit “aiming at quantity and opposed to the tradition of maximum profit per unit of product.” In fact, however, Fourchambault was founded in 1821 to take advantage of the lucrative prices maintained in France by high protection. The declared aim of its creators was to make as much as possible as fast as possible, before other firms could enter the market. And their effort to increase output was motivated partly by a desire to lower average costs by spreading overhead charges over a larger make, partly by the knowledge that theirs was an expensive operation and that they had better make hay while they could.

With time, the rise of better-located enterprises began to exert pressure on

prices in spite of new demands for iron. Cartel-like controls of the market and the boom years of the fifties and sixties provided temporary relief, but from the mid-seventies on Fourchambault continued losing money. A vacillating, defensive management did little to redress the situation, and by the end of the century the firm was compelled to shut down. The whole makes a good story and constitutes a substantial contribution to French industrial history.

University of California, Berkeley

DAVID S. LANDES

THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR. By *Hugh Thomas*. (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1961. Pp. xxix, 720. \$8.50.)

THIS account of the Spanish Civil War of 1936–1939 stands without rivals as the most balanced and comprehensive on the subject. The author, an Englishman born in 1931, attains an objectivity probably impossible for anyone who remembers that passionate conflict. He has covered a vast and treacherous literature and included findings of his own from Carlist archives as well as the results of numerous interviews. While his documentation is not always meticulous, it is adequate, and he is frank in explaining his conclusions.

Thomas declares that the republic of 1931 produced no great man and that it is as difficult to blame as to excuse various Spaniards for permitting the accumulated wrath of generations to explode as it did. He treats the rebellion of July 1936 so as to destroy both Nationalist and Republican myths. Although the Left intended to remake Spain, there was no Communist plot; nor did Hitler and Mussolini sponsor the army conspiracy, which looked only to a conventional dictatorship. The clergy was scarcely involved at all. Once the insurrection began, both sides implored aid from abroad. The course of events is then told chronologically, a method with inherent defects as the reader is skipped from Nationalist to Republican Spain, from political intrigues to the battlefield, from social policies to diplomacy. Yet Thomas vindicates his organization by being lucid and exact, relating his points to the historian's framework as he carries the drama through thousands of incidents. He leaves little untouched: the barbarities, absurdities, ironies, agonies, perplexities, personalities, and ideological issues.

Much of the story concerning international aspects remains untold, though the author summarizes it with judiciousness. Hitler and Stalin are represented as interested mainly in prolonging the war. Negrin, whom the author respects, and other Republicans were forced to rely on Russian aid and therefore fell steadily under Communist control. The subtle Franco somehow won extensive Axis assistance without sacrificing much but mining concessions. Mussolini was unable to win the *grandeur* he sought, but the Italians did not perform as poorly as is often said. Britain sincerely favored nonintervention and pressed France, whose policy is least satisfactorily explained in these pages, into following her. Thomas ridicules American cautiousness, which he attributes to Secretary Hull and Am-

bassador Kennedy. He believes that the German-Italian airlift of Franco's troops from Africa to the peninsula was not militarily decisive; that the international brigades saved Madrid during the great siege after its populace had beaten off the initial attack; that Germany and Italy may have prevented Franco's collapse in 1937; that Russian, Comintern, and limited French aid similarly staved off Republican defeat in 1938; and that German help after Munich enabled Franco to win the war. In the long run none of the foreigners gained much from their intervention. Most of the Russians were purged, and the British and American volunteers usually suffered ostracism. Even the military lessons were mainly misunderstood or misapplied except by the Nazis.

Thomas estimates that the war cost Spain 600,000 lives, of whom 86,000 were taken by the Republicans in noncombat killings and 40,000 by the Nationalists. The causes of the war were, by its end, dead too, and the quarrels that had long torn Spain had spent themselves. Only Franco survived supreme, prudent and dull as always, a mysterious figure without convictions who mastered all factions.

While no other mortal could consider the materials Thomas has and emerge with precisely the same judgments of men and events, this book must now be recognized as the standard work for a period almost as complex as the French Revolution.

New York University

JOHN EDWIN FAGG

BEVÖLKERUNGSGESCHICHTE ITALIENS. Volume III, DIE BEVÖLKERUNG DER REPUBLIK VENEDIG, DES HERZOGTUMS MAILAND, PIEMONTS, GENUAS, CORSICAS UND SARDINIENS. DIE GESAMT-BEVÖLKERUNG ITALIENS. By *Karl Julius Beloch*. (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co. 1961. Pp. xvi, 401.)

THIS long-awaited volume (edited by Wolfgang Hagemann and Luigi Pareti) completes a major work in which the late Dr. Beloch tried to publish and summarize all available information concerning the size and density of population in Italy from the early Middle Ages to approximately 1800. Five well-organized chapters treat northern Italy, dividing it into the regions of the republic of Venice, the duchy of Milan, Piedmont, Genoa and Corsica, and Sardinia. Each important city within a region is examined individually, with its population history, that of its surrounding district, and an analysis of changes in population density. The data for all cities and districts is then condensed and compiled in order to present the population history of a major region. A final chapter sums up all three volumes, offering a general history of population in Italy. Very limited evidence allows only general statements about the twelfth to mid-fourteenth centuries, a period of great growth and expansion in most cities. For nearly two centuries after the arrival of the Black Death in the mid-fourteenth century, repeated epidemics visited Italy and "decimated" its population. Nonetheless most large cities increased in popula-

tion, while small and medium-sized cities remained stationary or decreased. Beloch attempted to estimate the entire Italian population from the mid-sixteenth century on. He attributed a serious decline about 1600–1650 largely to an epidemic of 1630. During the eighteenth century the population in large cities remained “essentially stationary,” while that in rural areas and small towns increased greatly. The chapter contains a discussion of the nature of census documents and a brief history of population density in Italy.

Beloch himself expressed many reservations as to the accuracy of his data, especially for the years before 1500, for which he had to rely principally upon chronicles. (For 1500–1800 sources are far more numerous, and include published and unpublished censuses, pastoral visitations, and hospital records.) But while Beloch recognized errors in his sources he nonetheless included them in his tables. Thus the farther he went from raw data toward descriptions of regions or all Italy the greater was the margin of error. Readers should examine carefully his methods for deriving total population from accounts of numbers of taxpayers, citizens, hearths, or men of military age, and for calculating density estimates, before adopting his results.

This clearly written volume contains about four hundred charts. It is an essential reference tool (not an interpretive essay) long needed by students of economic, social, political, and Italian history.

University of Nebraska

WILLIAM M. BOWSKY

STORIA DELL'ITALIA MODERNA. Volume I, LE ORIGINI DEL RISORGIMENTO; Volume II, DALLA RESTAURAZIONE ALLA RIVOLUZIONE NAZIONALE. By *Giorgio Candeloro*. (2d ed.; Milan: Feltrinelli Editore. 1959; 1960. Pp. 428; 457. L. 2,500 each.)

HERE is a work which students of European and of Italian history need to know. It is a bold, stimulating, and effective summation of the findings of scholarship regarding the role of the Italian “nation” in the modern world, viewed in the light of contemporary interests and contemporary thought.

The author provides the justification for such an undertaking in a critical essay on the historiography of the *risorgimento*, which appears in the bibliographical note of his first volume, under the heading: “Il Risorgimento e la precedente storia italiana.” Recent years have witnessed an impressive activity of research and fermentation of thought in the study of the *risorgimento*. Professor Candeloro is convinced that the time has come to take a fresh look at the whole process by which Italy has arrived at its present position in the history of our civilization, to recapitulate the facts established and to interpret them in terms that have an interest for all thoughtful observers of history, and to define the areas in which further research is needed in order to arrive at generally acceptable conclusions.

Candeloro's interpretation of the history of his nation is, as he at once declares,

inspired by that of Antonio Gramsci. Indeed, these two volumes are Gramsci's penetrating reflections on Italian history tested against and fleshed out with the findings of scholarly research. For Candeloro as for Gramsci, the *risorgimento* was a "rivoluzione mancata," a movement whose critical factor was the failure of the bourgeoisie of Italy to carry out that group's classic "mission," by uniting with the proletariat and effecting a capitalistic "modernization" of Italian society. For Candeloro, as for Gramsci, the timidity and moderatism of the Italian bourgeoisie, while a regrettable fact, is rooted in the history of the Italian communes and principalities. For both, finally, and this is, of course, a merit not confined to Gramsci's outlook, history is concerned with an integrated evolution of culture in which economic, social, and intellectual forces play a part even more important than politics and political institutions.

Economic forces, classes shaped by economic interests, and ideologies expressing their outlook on the world, as in all historiography of Marxist inspiration, play the dominant roles in Candeloro's interpretation of Italian history. On the other hand, his approach is anything but polemic or doctrinaire. He does not conceal his assumptions from himself or from his reader, and no one could ask for greater scrupulosity than he shows in putting them to the test of facts that have been established, in confronting problems squarely, in presenting fairly the limitations of present knowledge, and in doing justice to alternative interpretations when, in the absence of scholarly proof, he resorts to conjecture. Because of the dedication and skill with which he has digested the enormous literature of his subject, brought to bear on its problems the reliable and relevant conclusions as to the facts which that literature contains, and defined the areas in need of research, he has put all historians in his debt.

He has given himself a broad canvas. Because he believes that the key to modern Italy is the peculiar character of its middle class, its *borghesia*, he goes back to the origins of that class in the communes and devotes half of his first volume to the period before 1789, to what he calls the "premises," for he regards the *risorgimento*, properly so called, to have begun only under the Napoleonic regime. And because he recognizes the importance of the fact that Italy was a part of Europe, he keeps fully in view the movements of culture and politics in the rest of Europe with which those in Italy interacted.

Finally, what Candeloro has written is highly readable. He keeps large questions constantly in view. Though not dogmatic, he states his positions clearly, decisively, and without rhetoric. Even though his method and purpose require a presentation of the evidence in considerable detail, his style never staggers and his interest never flags under the weight of information with which he has dealt. No modern nation has a history harder to unify than Italy's. The historian of it has to do justice at once to the diversities and the common traits of a whole congeries of separate states up to 1861. By skillful organization and close thinking, Candeloro has done this with a success that no predecessor has achieved in a work of equal

scope, and he has at the same time produced a work, every chapter of which is intellectually alive.

The penetrating discussion of the literature of the subject, its contributions of fact, and its viewpoints contained in the bibliographical note in each volume provide a highly valuable review of the historiography of the *risorgimento*. Candeloro proposes to complete his work in five more volumes, one on the Revolution of 1848-1849, one on the period to 1870, and three from 1870 to the foundation of the present Italian Republic.

Baltimore, Maryland

KENT ROBERTS GREENFIELD

MACHIAVELLI AND RENAISSANCE ITALY. By J. R. Hale. [Teach Yourself History Library.] (New York: Macmillan Company. 1960. Pp. xii, 244. \$2.50.)

COMING only a few years after Roberto Ridolfi's well-received Machiavelli biography (on which, naturally, it leans heavily), Mr. Hale's book, about half the length of Ridolfi's volume, is in danger of being taken merely as an effort at compression and popularization. This it certainly is, and a highly successful one. In Hale's work, the space devoted to the years of Machiavelli, the Florentine secretary, approximates that for the subsequent period of Machiavelli, the political theorist and historian, an indication of the strength of the author's realistic interest in political actuality. Comparatively brief though the characterizations of Machiavelli's writings and ideas may be, they are, however, admirably to the point, phrased in a deft, epigrammatic style which vies with the literary qualities of Ridolfi's biography. In Machiavelli's apparently intensely personal familiar letters there always remains, says Hale, a core of reserve. "To divert attention from his heart, he painted a false one on his sleeve, and took pleasure in representing it as a bad one," disclosing "a temperament that allowed the fullest rein to intellectual enthusiasms, while never fully releasing personal ones."

But the book is more than merely a particularly able psychological analysis and a most helpful guide for the general reader; by reworking the results of recent scholarship in an independent fashion, it advances beyond Ridolfi's synthesis in some essential respects. For instance, whereas the gradual rise of Machiavelli's key ideas during his secretaryship has been in recent years variously traced by Italian scholars (especially Chabod and Sasso), Hale provides a unique introduction to the concrete problems of *The Prince* by shifting the emphasis to an exact description of the successive political situations which one by one, in the course of fourteen years, had brought forth the Machiavellian problems. It is *The Prince*, not the *Discourses*, which emerges as the logical result of this long political education. As a consequence, Hale's becomes the first biography of Machiavelli to adopt the recent theory that the *Discourses* originated in a later phase of Machiavelli's life, when contact with the intellectual pursuits in the "Oricellari Gardens" had

enlarged his horizon. In *The Prince*, as Hale puts it, Machiavelli "had not yet shown (as he was to show in the *Discourses*) much interest in internal, constitutional affairs. His work [as secretary] had led him to think primarily of Florence's impact on other states. He was concerned with Italian resistance to France and Spain, not with the balance of classes within his own city," as later in the *Discourses*.

Not every detail in Hale's delineation of the genesis of *The Prince* and the *Discourses* may prove final. His tentative dating as late as January 1515 of the last chapter of *The Prince* appears to lack any evidence; there is too little awareness of the changing tone of Machiavelli's civic sentiment in passing from *The Prince* to the *Discourses*. And Hale did not yet know that after the completion of *The Prince* more than a full year of crisis passed before work on the *Discourses* could begin (see my discussion in *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, XXIII [Oct. 1961]). But enough of a fresh approach has been set forth in this book to make it not only our best short biography of Machiavelli, but also one of the most stimulating contributions to some of the current Machiavelli problems.

Newberry Library

HANS BARON

ERUDIZIONE E STORIA IN LUDOVICO ANTONIO MURATORI. By Sergio Bertelli. [Istituto Italiano per gli Studi Storici, Number 12.] (Naples: the Istituto. 1960. Pp. 545. L. 4,000.)

THE seizure of the tiny Adriatic village of Comacchio by imperial troops in 1707 may have been but a tiny eddy in the great whirlpool of the War of the Spanish Succession. But from the viewpoint of the development of historiography, it was an event of the greatest importance. It marked the rebirth, in Italy at least, of a historical viewpoint that had been all but dead since the mid-sixteenth century, and it forced the librarian of Duke Rinaldo d'Este of Modena, Ludovico Antonio Muratori, to begin the systematic researches that were soon to make him one of the chief intellectual leaders of his own country and one of the founders of modern medieval studies. There was, indeed, little in Muratori's background that would have urged him toward such a career. His chief mentor, the antiquarian Benedetto Bacchini, had directed him rather toward the natural sciences; his friends in the Milanese Arcadian colony had involved him in the questions of literary criticism that ended up in his much-applauded *Perfetta poesia*; and the libraries he directed seem to have excited in him little more than a taste for rare curiosities. But the necessity of tracing the remote ancestry of the Este family suddenly brought him into contact with the new approach to genealogy and the new methods of documentary criticism then being worked out beyond the Alps. The necessity of answering the papal propagandists forced him to turn what had been largely a theoretical argument into a historical one. And the necessity of searching through scores of archives for support of the imperial claims to Ferrara provided him with the

first materials, and the first inspiration, for what were to become some of the greatest documentary compendia of all times. His long involvement in the Comacchio controversy even explains his occasional failure to meet fully his own standards of accurate scholarship—his tendency, for instance, even in later years, to modernize antiquated or inelegant orthography for the sake of readability, to lapse into a merely chronological presentation of single events, and to permit his own religious and political views to affect his evaluation of historical records.

The recent studies of Francesco Forti and Mario Fubini have amply analyzed Muratori's role as a literary critic, and the biographies of Giulio Bertoni and Ferruccio de Carli have reconstructed the principal moments of his life. But until now his importance as a historian has been unfortunately neglected, particularly outside of Italy. Fueter, for instance, crams him into two brief pages, and J. W. Thompson accords him two short paragraphs. Such an oversight is no longer possible, for this volume, based upon a thorough study of all the known and many previously unknown writings of and about Muratori, has fully demonstrated the magnitude of his accomplishment. True, Bertelli at times succumbs to his hero's *gusto dell'inedito*, with page-long quotations, lengthy digressions, and extensive documentary tables that tend to break the continuity and weaken the force of his argument. At others he seems to underestimate the excellence of his own scholarship by deferring to the opinions of his predecessors, even when the theses quoted no longer fit the new evidence he has presented. He might, moreover, have given somewhat more space to Muratori's originality in incorporating many new subjects (rites, customs, festivals, legal systems, and so on) into the realm of historiography. He might have carried further some of his suggestions concerning the relation of Muratori to the later Italian political reformers. And he might have considered more fully Muratori's influence on later transalpine historiography, of which Arnaldo Momigliano has found considerable evidence in Gibbon. Yet the very thoroughness of his research has enabled him to point out the significance of Muratori's concept of civil, as opposed to ecclesiastical, history, of the rehabilitation of the Lombards as a constructive force in the early Middle Ages, and of the determination of the Gothic war rather than the sack of Rome as the proper end of antiquity. His extensive knowledge of the history of European scholarship from the sixteenth century on has enabled him to show how Muratori surpassed his transalpine teachers: by combining the vision of Leibniz with the methods of Mabillon and by re-evaluating the single document isolated by the diplomatists in terms of its contribution to a cohesive view of the past. His familiarity, finally, with *sei-* and *settecento* Italy, sometimes disguised behind such ill-defined terms as *barocco* and *illuminismo*, has enabled him to credit Muratori with being the first to expose Italians to the stimulation of foreign literature, to draw their attention to the possibilities of applying Galilean methods in other fields, and to remind them of much of their own forgotten cultural heritage. Thus, Bertelli concludes, Muratori's historical work far exceeded the narrow limits of one discipline, for it

broke the stranglehold of Baronius and Bellarmine on Italian letters and made possible the cultural renovation of the succeeding decades.

University of Chicago

ERIC W. COCHRANE

DE PÉTRARQUE À MUSSOLINI: ÉVOLUTION DU SENTIMENT NATIONALISTE ITALIEN. By *Maurice Vaussard*. (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin. 1961. Pp. 303.)

MAURICE VAUSSARD has had a long and distinguished career as publicist, journalist, and historian. His special interests are nationalism, Italy, and religion, and his work has appeared in leading French journals. He is currently chairman of the sixth section of the École Pratique des Hautes Études on the history of European nationalism.

In this his most recent work Vaussard combines all three of his main interests. Italy, he believes, offers a particularly favorable ground for the study of nationalism. The scene of a major ancient civilization, Italy was for many centuries deprived of unity and independence. As other countries, it was infected with the germs of nationalism that emerged in the French Revolution.

The author traces the sentiments, ideas, and practical steps in the development of Italian nationalism. He divides his book into three major sections. Part I is concerned with background: the idea of Italian primacy in literature before 1815 (Dante, Petrarch, Machiavelli, Alfieri); the beginnings of the *risorgimento* when Mazzini and Gioberti elaborated the idea of Italian primacy; reactions to the Giobertian thesis from Balbo to Cavour; the ideological influence of the poet Carducci; and the political imperialism of Francesco Crispi.

In Part II Vaussard tells how the national idea took hold of the Italian conscience, while noting such ideological precursors as Oriani, D'Annunzio, and Corradini, and the practical aspects of Italian imperialism and irredentism from 1900 on. In Part III the author treats imperialism in action during the Fascist regime, with chapters showing how Mussolini became an imperialist, the period of ascending Fascist imperialism from 1925 to 1936, and the decline and fall of Mussolini from 1937 to 1943.

The outline is familiar enough, but the book's special value lies in Vaussard's skillful blending of ideology and action. He is at his best in revealing how great works of literature as well as the little reviews contributed equally in forging the myths that nourished economic realities, political and military events, sentiments of fantasy, and humiliations. Quite rightly, he makes no real distinction between nationalism and imperialism, but shows how one sentiment merges imperceptibly into the other. Tragic, indeed, is the story of how Italian cultural aspirations were perverted into the integral nationalism epitomized in Mussolini's fanaticism. As Carlton J. H. Hayes has pointed out, nationalism can be either a blessing or a curse.

Excellent organized, factually accurate, carefully documented, gracefully and charmingly written, Vaussard's book is a valuable addition to the bibliography of nationalism.

City College of New York

LOUIS L. SNYDER

THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN HISTORY OF THE MODERN WORLD. Edited by *Allan Nevins* and *Howard M. Ehrmann*. GERMANY: A MODERN HISTORY, by *Marshall Dill, Jr.* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1961. Pp. x, 467, xxiii. \$8.75.)

The University of Michigan History of the Modern World was projected more than a decade ago, and the series is now well on its way to completion. In this volume, the latest in the series, Professor Dill has tried hard to conform to the pattern and purpose of the series. The whole span of German history is treated, but the treatment becomes progressively more detailed. Three-fourths of the book is devoted to the last century and more than half to the period since 1914. In this sense, it is a history of "Modern Germany."

Brief and compact as is the treatment of the period up to the time of Bismarck, Dill manages to give the reader some sort of a comprehensive and integrated glimpse of most of the important movements and personalities in German life. The leading musicians and philosophers as well as the leading politicians and warriors appear in the narrative. If all the complexities of Germany history do not emerge, the reader, nevertheless, gets some notion of the conflicting problems and forces that characterize the German past.

The treatment of the period since the time of Bismarck is much more detailed. Here the author shifts from a straight chronological organization to a modified chronological-topical scheme, and his grasp of events seems to be deeper and firmer. If he offers the reader little that has not already appeared in well-known books in English, his synthesis is basically sound and unbiased. As he moves toward the present, and the history of Germany merges more and more into the history of Europe and the world, he struggles manfully to disentangle German history from the history of Europe and the world and to keep the story moving and easily intelligible.

Taken as a whole this is a good one-volume history of Germany. It is comparatively free of factual errors, and the interpretation is cautious and well balanced. The writing is clear, concise, and even forceful at times, though perhaps the author makes excessive use of passive constructions. Since the book was not intended for experts, most of what one thinks of as scholarly apparatus is lacking. There is an index, but no footnotes, and the bibliography is limited to works in English, most of these being of a general nature. The average educated reader, for whom the book was designed, will find it a readable, competent, interpretive summary of the main facts and developments in German history.

The reviewer, however, cannot bring himself to conclude this review without saying that he has doubts as to the soundness of the assumptions on which this series is based. Is the approach that the series prescribes the best one if the purpose is to give the intelligent layman an understanding of that complex of problems, forces, and events that are shaping the contemporary world? I do not believe that it is. Too many of the key problems, forces, and events of the twentieth century are regional or worldwide in scope and impact. The history of Germany is inextricably interwoven with the history of Europe and the world, and this interweaving is part of the reality and of the history.

University of North Carolina

CARL HAMILTON PEGG

THEODOR MOMMSEN: EINE BIOGRAPHIE. Volume I, LEHRJAHRE, 1817-1844. By *Lothar Wickert*. (Frankfurt am Main: Vittorio Klostermann. 1959. Pp. 580. Cloth DM 48.50, paper DM 42.50.)

THIS work has long been awaited. In 1933 the thirty years, during which Mommsen's papers were closed after his death, expired, and a Mommsen committee was formed. Wickert, then charged with the biography, has sought out manuscript materials diligently. The family archives proper were destroyed during World War II, but had already been inspected; the present volume contains an imposing set of notes with ample quotations from the letters and other materials of young Mommsen and his friends. Volume II, covering 1844-1858, will be on the same scale; the third and last volume will extend to his death in 1903. Since Wickert's method is to cover all aspects of a major subject at once, the relations of Mommsen to his brothers and his poetry have been treated throughout his life in Volume I.

What we have, thus, is a leisurely study of Mommsen's formative years in four chapters: his family background and childhood, his training at the Altona gymnasium (the Christianeum), his university education at Kiel, and his poetry. The facts are now at hand; the reader must seek out largely for himself answers to such questions as: Why was Mommsen great? What forces drove him? What was his character?

It is, indeed, not always easy to assess the butterfly in its cocoon. Mommsen's early life was not one calculated to produce greatness. His father was an unsuccessful minister. His mother, who does not show forth clearly, seems merely to have been a solid woman. His home town, Altona, and Kiel were in a backwater. The university had about two hundred students in Mommsen's day. Droysen, who was there then, did not appeal to the young student, and the other teachers were no more than competent. In later life Mommsen felt that only Borghesi, whom he met in Italy, had truly inspired him. His doctoral dissertation was slight; in fact his major professor urged him in vain to write an entirely new one.

Though Mommsen took part in clubs and learned societies, he was not at home in this dull world: "Ich bin zu klug für meine zwanzig Jahren." Yet his own drives and the qualities of German humanistic education had prepared him well in modern European literature, in law (after the Savigny school), and in Roman antiquities; his native critical ability had been sharpened; and the contest for university prizes had unknowingly led him toward publication along lines he was to exploit later. Before he left on his first Italian trip, he could be formally praised for his "distinguished capabilities together with a truly iron industry, so that he can already be considered a scholar."

Liberalism, agnosticism, a melancholy turn of mind when relaxed were well set as his basic qualities. Now Mommsen could advance rapidly on the broad stage of European scholarship. As the lineaments of his character become clearer, we may hope that Wickert will come to grips more sharply with his hero and will set Mommsen more clearly in the framework of nineteenth-century historical scholarship and culture.

University of Illinois

CHESTER G. STARR

THE DYNAMICS OF COMMUNISM IN EASTERN EUROPE. By R. V. Burks. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1961. Pp. xii, 244. \$5.00.)

THIS study is concerned with the appeals of Communism in Eastern Europe in the years between 1917 and the consolidation of Communist rule after the Second World War. In analyzing the Communist parties of this region, Burks makes a useful distinction between the leading cadre of a few hundred or thousand, the activists numbering perhaps ten times as many, and the much larger group which supported the parties as guerrillas, opportunists, fellow travelers, and voters. He finds, in brief, that the bulk of the leading cadre was recruited from the middle class, while the activists included members of both the proletariat and the middle class. His principal conclusion, however, is that apart from this hard core the Communist parties attracted not primarily workers but elements of the population which were underprivileged by virtue of ethnic origin or economic status. The Communists had a proportionately large support among the Ukrainian and Belorussian minorities in Poland, the Slavo-Macedonians in Greece, the Magyars in Slovakia and Transylvania, and the Ruthenians in Czechoslovakia; and among the Jewish minorities. The German and Turkish minorities, on the other hand, placed their hopes on their countries of origin rather than on Communism. Among discontented economic groups, the most prominent were peasants depending on single cash crops, workers in seasonal trades such as tobacco sorting, persons displaced by the frontier changes following the First World War, and schoolteachers. The hardships of adjustment to social change were typically borne by the rural population in Eastern Europe, and Burks finds that workers outnumbered peasants in the Communist parties only in Czechoslovakia. Yet in that country, the most

industrialized in the region, the Social Democrats had a larger electoral following among workers than the Communists.

The significance of Burks's study is that it provides fresh and careful documentation in support of the interpretation of the Communist movement which maintains that the importance of its appeal lies in its role as a palliative to a wide variety of personal and social grievances rather than as a scientific theory of social development positing the rise to power of the working class. Even where large numbers of workers vote for the Communist party, as in France and Italy, it is more because of social discontent than proletarian origins. Elsewhere, including the underdeveloped countries, Communism is essentially a middle-class affair and is more likely to find popular support among peasants than among workers. There is more to Communism than this, of course, but Burks is concerned only with its appeals and not with its organization and policies. In developing his case, he makes effective use of multiple correlation analysis. This is a statistical method that reveals the extent of correlation of several causal factors and permits him to demonstrate on the basis of election returns the extent to which the Communist vote between the wars coincided with certain ethnic, economic, and other factors. This statistical evidence, supplemented by interviews and questionnaires administered to former Greek Communists in 1951-1952, permits a degree of accuracy that would not otherwise have been possible and provides a new dimension to the study of social movements.

Princeton University

CYRIL E. BLACK

ZAROZHDENIE MARKSIZMA V ROSSII 1883-1894 GG. [The Origin of Marxism in Russia 1883-1894]. By *Iu. Z. Polevoi*. (Moscow: USSR Academy of Sciences Press for the Institute of History. 1959. Pp. 567. 25 rubles, 15 kopecks.)

POLEVOI's book represents the first serious Soviet effort since the death of Stalin to provide a history of the origins of Russian Marxism. It concentrates on the decade 1883-1893, that is, on the period between the formation of Plekhanov's *émigré* Liberation of Labor group and Blagoev's Party of Russian Social-Democrats, and the arrival of Lenin in St. Petersburg. Polevoi describes in considerable detail the activities of the *émigrés* and of the numerous ephemeral Marxist circles that functioned during this period in the central and provincial cities of the empire. In most respects his book represents a step forward in comparison with similar studies published in the Soviet Union during the preceding twenty-five years. Plekhanov, for one, is given due credit for his part in introducing Marxism to Russia, and so are the illegal Marxists operating inside Russia before the formation of the St. Petersburg Union of Struggle for the Liberation of the Working Class. The tendency of Stalinist historians has been to minimize and sometimes

to ignore altogether these important forerunners in order to emphasize the accomplishment of Lenin and Stalin. Polevoi has also made extensive use of the rich archival materials deposited in the Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute in Moscow, the doors of which have been and still are hermetically sealed to foreign scholars.

But it is only in comparison with Stalinist historians that Polevoi may be said to deserve any praise at all. Judged by standards prevailing in the non-Communist world, and even those prevailing in the Soviet Union in the 1920's, his effort must be regarded as highly unsatisfactory. The book is essentially a political tract intended to buttress the current official party interpretation of its past, to wit: that the progress of Marxism in Russia was an uninterrupted progression of triumphs accomplished with the full blessing of Marx and Engels and at the expense of the Populists, and that until 1893-1894 its history was a mere preparation for the advent of Lenin. In an effort to prove these doubtful contentions, Polevoi must commit many sins of commission and of omission, above all by distorting Marx's and Engels' relation to the Populists and the early Marxists, and ignoring Marxists who later turned against Lenin. To quote but one example of a sin of commission: Polevoi argues that Engels was very favorably inclined to Plekhanov and his circle. But it is known from the memoirs of A. Voden (*Letopisi Marksizma*, No. 4, 1927) that Engels was in fact critical of Plekhanov and of the *émigré* attacks on the Populists. Engels spoke disparagingly of Plekhanov as a Russian "Hyndman" or "Lassalle" and stated that if he were in his position he would cooperate with the Populists. Polevoi has read Voden, and even cites a passage from him, but he omits mentioning every critical remark Engels addressed in the direction of the Russian Marxists and by citing only a part of a sentence from Voden completely distorts its meaning. Thus, Polevoi quotes Engels as saying to Voden approvingly: "Soon inside Russia there will emerge energetic leaders . . .," but omits the rest of the sentence which reads, "[and] altogether it is not possible to direct a political movement from abroad." (Voden, *loc. cit.*, p. 95; Polevoi, p. 247.) In other words, a criticism of Plekhanov's meddling in internal Russian revolutionary affairs is, by the technique of incomplete quotation, transformed into praise of Plekhanov. There are many similar cases in this book of tampering with sources.

The author is no less guilty of sins of omission. The history of the Jewish Marxist organizations, which in the early 1890's provided Russian Marxists (including Lenin) with many theoretical and organizational ideas, is almost entirely ignored. So too are the Legal Marxists, the men responsible for the introduction of Marxist ideas into Russia. Peter Struve, the author of the first Marxist book published inside Russia (1894) and of the future Labor party's founding manifesto, is mentioned only twice in the entire book, and even then only as the target of Lenin's criticism; Potresov, whose services to Russian Marxism included getting Lenin's first work into print, is mentioned only once. But then it must be remembered that Struve later became a monarchist, and Potresov joined the Mensheviks.

While the specialist may obtain from this book a certain amount of useful

detail, the nonspecialist should use it only with extreme caution, and if possible, still rely largely on studies published before 1930.

Harvard University

RICHARD PIPES

ISTORIIA VELIKOI OTECHESTVENNOI VOINY SOVETSKOGO SOIUZA
1941-1945 [The History of the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union 1941-
1945]. Volume I. *G. A. Deborin*, editor in chief. (Moscow: Institute of Marx-
ism-Leninism. 1960. Pp. 532.)

FOLLOWING three years of public debate among Soviet historians, the first volume of a projected series of six dealing with the Soviet Union in the Second World War has appeared under the authoritative stamp of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism. The number of politically influential members of the general editorial board provides further evidence that this volume is the product of a collective effort, undertaken at the highest levels of the party, to revise the Stalinist interpretation of the war.

According to the authors, beginning with a series of local conflicts in the 1930's, the Western democracies encouraged and supported Fascist aggression against the Soviet Union in the hope of saving themselves. Only the Soviet "peace policy" (the occupation of the Baltic States, eastern Poland, and Bessarabia) and firm resistance to armed "Fascist threats" on the Soviet frontier (battles with the Japanese in the Far East and the Finnish war) doomed this plan to frustration, split the capitalist powers into two warring camps, and kept the Soviet Union out of the conflict for two crucial years. The character of the war was at first imperialist, but the rapid Fascist conquest of other countries "created the possibility of turning the war against the Fascist governments into a just war of liberation." In fact, from the outbreak of hostilities the Communist parties of Italy, Germany, and Japan carried on a defeatist policy while those of Poland, France, and later Greece and Yugoslavia fought to turn the war into a struggle for "national liberation." In a new significant tribute to European Communist parties, Soviet historians assert that the war was taking on an "anti-Fascist" and therefore "just" character even before the Soviet Union entered it.

In attempting to document the fighting nature of the Communist resistance to Hitler before 1941, the authors merely underline the feebleness of the effort and the extent to which the parties were disoriented and disorganized by Moscow's political errors culminating in the Nazi-Soviet pact. Communist efforts to repair broken lines of organization and communication led in early 1939 to the establishment by the Comintern executive of an underground center of the Polish Communist party in Paris which kept in touch with scattered Communist elements in Poland. At the same time the Comintern created a Provisional Advisory Center of the party in Warsaw in order to rebuild local cadres. From the fall of 1938 underground Czech and Slovak Communist organizations were in contact with Gottwald in

Moscow. Early in 1941 the French Communists organized a "Work among the Germans" section which established relations with members of other European Communist parties who were in France. In Germany and southeastern Europe still other attempts were made to link up the various underground organizations. That the primary task of these groups was not, at least until June 1941, to cooperate with all anti-Nazi forces is revealed by the sharp Soviet criticism of German Communist leaders in France for having offered their services to the French government in 1939. Clearly the war had, in Communist eyes, both an imperialist character, represented by the struggle between the Fascist and democratic governments, and a national liberation character, represented by the Communist activity in the Nazi-occupied countries. The dialectical contradiction was resolved by the German attack on the Soviet Union. Intentionally or not, the authors also show that the Soviet preparation for the war had an equally contradictory character. The Red Army gained valuable military experience from fighting the Japanese and the Finns. The admittedly "unusual problem" of "liberating" the Baltic States, eastern Poland, and Bessarabia was solved by a skillful combination of military occupation and local hard-driving political work. In retrospect to Western eyes, both the general plan and the details of this occupation foreshadowed with startling similarity the subsequent "liberation" of all Eastern Europe. On the other side of the ledger, both Stalin and Beria are blamed for ideological and military errors that weakened the Red Army and disoriented the Soviet people on the eve of the war.

The book is, despite its polemical tone, a valuable source of information on Soviet motives and methods before the Second World War.

Northwestern University

ALFRED J. RIEBER

Africa

NORTH AFRICA: NATIONALISM TO NATIONHOOD. By *Lorna Hahn*. Introduction by *John F. Kennedy*. (Washington, D. C.: Public Affairs Press. 1960. Pp. xii, 264. \$6.00.)

THE opportunity to fill an important gap in the literature of North Africa for the edification of the American public has not materialized in this book. It is not that Mrs. Hahn did not possess the conception for a work of breadth and depth but that she has failed to achieve the objectives to which she aspired. These objectives encompassed not only a desire to discuss the contemporary politics in the three areas under consideration, Tunisia, Morocco, and Algeria, but an attempt to place recent developments in these countries in a historical framework. The historical material is extremely superficial and reveals the author's unfamiliarity with the nuances of Islamic history and Moslem institutions, both past and present. Not only does the author deal cavalierly with Islamic history but also with the

historical background of French relations with North Africa. Some concessions for ignorance of Islamic history may be made because of the prolonged study it entails, a study which, presumably, Mrs. Hahn did not undertake. On the other hand, she could certainly have given us a less impassioned indictment of France's historical connections with North Africa, basing her judgments on a levelheaded analysis of all the available evidence instead of the highly tendentious sources she chose to consult.

When she comes to her discussion of recent political events, Mrs. Hahn is on surer ground, although her limited bibliography does not inspire great confidence that she has dealt with the subject exhaustively or impartially. Furthermore, she follows the curious practice of avoiding all references to her sources and leaves the reader without any possibility of checking her information or her interpretations. Her survey of recent happenings in North Africa is, nevertheless, not without merit, and if used cautiously and with the full knowledge that only a one-sided picture has been presented, the lay reader can find here a useful synopsis of events that lie behind current newspaper headlines. It is, however, disturbing to think that John F. Kennedy, who wrote the introduction to this book while still a senator, could be formulating his policies toward North Africa and the French government only on the basis of information and views expressed in this work.

From the technical viewpoint, the book suffers dramatically. It is full of clichés and colloquialisms that are distressing. There are a number of misspelled and misused words that indicate bad editing. The transliteration of Arabic names and places is chaotic, the worst possible error being the consistent misspelling of the word Maghreb, spelled Mahgreb throughout except in the glossary and in Kennedy's introduction. The author's penchant for foreign expressions is annoying, especially when they are incorrectly spelled or without accent marks in their proper position. In sum, this is a book that suffers excessively from the necessity of rushing into print to meet a current interest in North African affairs. No one benefits from such undue haste, least of all Mrs. Hahn and the Public Affairs Press.

University of Maryland

HELEN ANNE B. RIVLIN

Asia and the East

THE BUDDHIST CONQUEST OF CHINA: THE SPREAD AND ADAPTATION OF BUDDHISM IN EARLY MEDIEVAL CHINA. Volume I, TEXT; Volume II, NOTES—BIBLIOGRAPHY—INDEXES. By *E. Zürcher*. [Sinica Leidensia, Number 11.] (Leiden: E. J. Brill. 1959. Pp. xii, 320; 321-468. Glds. 58 the set.)

In this work Dr. Zürcher of Leiden University traces the early history of Buddhism in China and analyzes the process of adaptation and interpretation by which this foreign religion won acceptance. Beginning with Buddhism under

the Han, the author studies this development down to the early fifth century, culminating in the life and activities of the famous monk Hui-yüan (334-417) and his community of clerical and lay disciples on Mount Lu in Kiangsi. Attention is concentrated on the acceptance of Buddhism among the cultured classes in the Chinese dynasties of the south after the "barbarian" conquest of north China early in the fourth century led to the cultural and political division of China. At the same time Zürcher is careful to note instances of interaction between the Buddhism of the north and the south.

That it considers the spread of Buddhism in terms of Chinese intellectual and political history and the background and interests of the men who are attracted by it, is the book's great merit. Zürcher carefully relates early Chinese interpretations of Buddhist doctrine to the mixture of Taoism and speculation based on the *Book of Changes*, which prevailed after the collapse of the Han. He shows how some Buddhist monks gained a reputation by participating in the fashionable *ch'ing-t'an* sessions, meetings at which men of refinement matched wits in repartee, while other gentlemen-monks preferred the solitude of a mountain retreat where they combined the study of Buddhist scriptures with traditional Chinese enjoyment of nature and the practice of calligraphy. Zürcher is equally illuminating in his discussion of the association of Buddhism with families prominent in the political life of the south.

Of particular interest is Zürcher's account of the difficulties that slowed the spread of Buddhism, the controversies in which Buddhists became involved, and the friction between church and state. In the attacks on Buddhism we encounter arguments that were frequently to be repeated in later ages. It is charged that the church undermines the state politically and economically, that the monastic life is unnatural and useless, and that the religion is suited only for the uncivilized foreigners among whom it originated. The Buddhist rebuttal not only argues the monk's special mission which transcends secular concerns, but strives to show that Buddhism fosters civil virtues and is in harmony with Chinese traditions. It is even maintained that Buddhism was known and valued in Chinese antiquity. This claim also plays a major role in the early disputes between Buddhists and Taoists with which Zürcher concludes his study. It culminates in the assertion of a Buddhist origin not only of Taoism and Confucianism but finally of Chinese civilization itself when two ancient semidivine Chinese culture heroes are identified as Bodhisattvas.

Zürcher's study is a model of careful scholarship. It is based on a meticulous and detailed examination of the sources and critical use of secondary studies in Chinese, Japanese, and European languages. Carefully documented throughout, its value is further increased by translations of important material such as the biography of Hui-yüan. Zürcher has made an outstanding contribution to the study of Chinese Buddhism.

Swarthmore College

CONRAD M. SCHIROKAUER

TOJO AND THE COMING OF THE WAR. By *Robert J. C. Butow*. [Center of International Studies, Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs, Princeton University.] (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1961. Pp. 584. \$10.00.)

THIS book is a comprehensive and thorough account of General Hideki Tojo's personal career and his part in public affairs. As Minister of War, he opposed compromise with the United States, and, as Prime Minister, thrust Japan into the war. To make his tale of Tojo proportionate and thus more meaningful, Butow reviews conscientiously the advance by the Japanese military toward control of their country, and exposes the views, ambitions, and rivalries (particularly between the army and navy) that determined their country's tragic course.

The narrative begins with Tojo's early years and environment, widening into a history of the extension of Japanese imperial ambition and the effort to make Japan dominant in East Asia. Against this broad setting of events it follows in excessive detail the anguished search for triumphant achievement that terminated in the decision for war against the West on December 7, 1941. The third part is a summarized survey of subsequent combat in which Japan gradually faced defeat. It concludes with Tojo's ordeal in time of waning fortunes and national disaster, his imprisonment and trial before the International Military Tribunal for the Far East, and his execution. The obstinate, conscientious, hard, and unimaginative soldier rationalized this in a poem he wrote at Sugamo Prison:

Whether life is long or short,
Whether we succeed or fail,
It is in accordance with the will of Heaven.

Of course this epitaph, while presumably comforting to its author, does not strike the exact truth. Butow's careful and analytical narrative firmly supports his blunt opinion that Japan, under the threatening pressure of Tojo, his subordinates, colleagues, and compeers, was aggressive and bent on vaunting domination.

The official documents, records, and reports captured by the Allies, and those presented to the International Military Tribunal, have been ably absorbed and supplemented by thorough inspection of secondary sources, biographies, and Japanese periodicals and press. The list of persons whom the author interviewed and those with whom he corresponded prompts the thought that he was no less determined in pursuit of his end than was Hideki Tojo!

The use and interpretation of the garnered material is perceptive and well judged. It is possible to wish, however, for a more adequate presentation of national circumstances—economic and social—that influenced Japanese behavior. Time is likely to correct its judgments of the contest between the Japanese and American governments in one respect and will find fault with the American government for its failure to be more farsighted in the terms and tactics that ended the war in the Pacific.

This historical study imprints on our memory how ruthless, ungovernable, and rash were the Japanese military authorities. Their excited desires produced distorted impressions of Japanese intentions and aims and those of the countries regarded as frustrators or enemies. The exponents of Japanese expansion always convinced themselves that what they were doing was necessary or fair in the defense or fulfillment of Japan. For this perverted image of their actions all sadly suffered.

This is the route of distortion by which most countries have blundered into most wars. I do not know whether other historians would share my impression that the turmoil of ambition, frustration, and fear within nations that one may almost say creates the need for an object of hate is as active today as it was in those years before 1941. Tojo may be regarded as merely an extreme example or illustration of the flow of excited self-deception among civilian (particularly political leaders, when they wear their public faces) as well as military leaders, which nations must dam or divert if they are not to drown in it, one and all. Who is saying this to the rulers of the Soviet Union and China? Who is preaching this plain lesson in their professional historical journals?

York, Maine

HERBERT FEIS

Americas

THE PRESIDENCY AND INDIVIDUAL LIBERTIES. By *Richard P. Longaker*. [Cornell Studies in Civil Liberty.] (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press. 1961. Pp. xii, 239. \$4.50.)

Nor only do the reconnaissances on the always new frontier of the American presidency grow in number, but they happily maintain a high level of quality and utility. Here is a worthy recruit to add to the recent studies by Johnson, Neustadt, Steiner, and Tugwell, and to supplement older works of Binkley, Corwin, Rossiter, and Stanwood. Differing from his predecessors in his concentration on the major theme indicated in his title, Professor Longaker offers a penetration in depth that deserves respectful attention.

His thesis is that the President has become the chief agent of the government responsible for protecting and enlarging individual liberties. Respecting Congress, the Supreme Court, the numerous security agencies, the leaders of party organizations, and state authorities, the President must perform so as to inspire protection for individuals yet retain security for essential purposes. At the same time he must keep party harmony and sustain electoral support. With the cold war testing whether free government can survive, the resident at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, beset by these manifold considerations, must possess and exercise qualities of patience, sensitivity, moral purpose, and political skill. Longaker concludes that few of our Presidents were blessed with the right combination of talents, or if possessing

them, chose not to exercise them in favor of individual rights. Whatever the merits of this choice in the past, he asserts convincingly that our current predicament demands a judgment from the White House in favor of liberty.

This is more an analysis of recent events centering on the Truman and Eisenhower years than a historical survey. Longaker touches on the earlier past primarily in order to illuminate the present. But in plucking facts and interpretations from Clio's orchard, he sometimes chose thorny samples. Consider his treatment of Lincoln's security policies. Longaker concludes that because of them the nation came perilously close to dictatorship as Lincoln trampled on constitutional rights in order to save the Constitution. But Randall's scholarship alone would pose the question of how close dictatorship was a century ago when press and speech remained virtually free, as Congress and states competed with the President for power, and while free elections were regularly held. Even by nineteenth-century standards, much less those of our day, the North achieved survival for the Union with great restraint. Similarly, to condemn Wilson as a militant crusader lacking in self-doubt is to ignore the considerable evidence to the contrary. This data indicates that Wilson did not lack conscience or heart. He chose to subordinate his concerns over home front excesses in favor of precedent goals. This is closer to FDR's decision regarding the aspirations of Negroes in the 1930's and to the Japanese relocation issue a decade later than Longaker perceives.

But in most matters he perceives very clearly indeed, as in his conclusion that the enlargement of liberty has most often occurred on the national rather than the local level. Longaker has worked his way through the rich data he unearthed with great skill and commendable restraint. The footnotes alone offer a treasure of insightful anecdote and fact for the student of recent America. He writes clearly and forcefully, eschewing sensationalism yet retaining warmth and force. A President will need courage as well as skill to fit the profile of urgent duty that Longaker correctly assigns to this office. *Nous verrons*.

University of California, Los Angeles

HAROLD M. HYMAN

RELIGION IN AMERICAN LIFE. Volume I, THE SHAPING OF AMERICAN RELIGION; Volume II, RELIGIOUS PERSPECTIVES IN AMERICAN CULTURE; Volume IV, Parts 1-5, A CRITICAL BIBLIOGRAPHY OF RELIGION IN AMERICA, by *Nelson R. Burr*. Edited by *James Ward Smith* and *A. Leland Jamison*. [Princeton Studies in American Civilization, Number 5.] (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1961. Pp. 514; 427; xx, 541, xv, 545-1219. \$8.50; \$7.50; \$17.50 for Volume IV.)

HERE as a major contribution to the study of the place of religion in the United States and especially of its part in shaping the history and culture of that country. It arose out of the needs of a special Princeton program in American civilization. The first two volumes are made up of a series of essays which are comprehensive

of various aspects of American religion and the presence of religion in several phases of American life. The initial volume is primarily historical. In successive chapters it covers Protestantism, Catholicism, Judaism, what are called "religions on the Christian perimeter," theology, the years from political independence to the close of the Civil War, the five decades from 1865 to 1914, the relation of religion and science in American philosophy, and what is succinctly described as "tradition and experience in American theology." The second volume, also historical in its approach, has essays on religion in education, religion and law, the shaping of political attitudes by religion, the attempt of the churches to influence the state, the religious novel, the place of the Bible in fiction, and the expression of religion in poetry, music, and architecture.

Even in so wide a scope several subjects are deliberately and frankly omitted, among them the flight of Protestantism from the cities, the changing family mores, and some aspects of law. Religion and economic life, originally assigned to Jacob Viner, is to be covered in another form in a later volume by that author and is to be numbered three in the series.

Major attention is given to Protestantism in the American scene. That is because until relatively recent decades it was that form of religion which was predominant in shaping the ethos of the nation. From the beginning the United States has been religiously pluralistic. Latterly Judaism and especially Catholicism have had increasing roles, but from the standpoint of the entire course of the history of what is now the United States, Protestantism has been the prevailing form of religion.

All the essays are by competent specialists and for the most part embody the desired objectivity. The initial one, by H. Richard Niebuhr, on the Protestant movement and democracy, is more interpretive than narrative. The second, on Catholicism, gives the impression of the defensive attitude which is natural to a group, largely of nineteenth-century immigration and a minority, although a growing minority, which has chronically suffered from the suspicion and even the persecution of large elements in the Protestant majority.

The second section, bound in two volumes but with consecutive pagination and counted as Volume IV of the series, is a comprehensive bibliography and is the most useful portion of this valuable contribution to American historiography. In general, although not rigorously, it conforms to the topical arrangement followed in the first two volumes. Its introductory comments to each section are in themselves admirable summaries of the subject covered. Even in a work of the dimensions of this one, the compiler was forced to make selections and to omit many items. So far as this reviewer can see, and he has given a careful examination to the rather wide range of topics with which he has some claim to expert knowledge, little or nothing of real importance has been omitted. The compiler's descriptions and appraisals of the works covered are discerning and objective—models of what the student wishes in such a bibliography. For years to come the bibliography will

be indispensable for all who wish in a serious way to investigate the aspects of the American religious scene here covered.

Both the essays and the bibliography suffer from a major defect which they share with most serious comprehensive studies of religion in the United States. They give their major attention to what might be called the more intellectually respectable phases of the American religious scene and pay scant attention to the real religion of the rank and file. It is true that considerable space is devoted to what are sometimes called "sects" and such variations from the denominations which enroll the majority as the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints and Christian Science. Something is also said of Fundamentalism. But the beliefs and practices which for a very large proportion of the members of the churches that enroll the majority of Americans, whether Protestant, Catholic, or Jewish, constitute religion are scarcely mentioned. Much space is devoted to Unitarianism and Transcendentalism, but these movements have enlisted small minorities. Only scanty mention is made of the American Bible Society and the Gideon movement through which millions of copies of the Bible have been distributed. Slightly more attention is paid to the Sunday schools. But little is indicated of the impressions of religion gathered by the rank and file of Protestants from these sources. We are told nothing of the Scofield Bible whose comments on the text of the King James Version are regarded by hundreds of thousands in several denominations, among them some of the largest, as authoritative as the text itself. From these volumes we would not know that dispensationalism in its many forms is esteemed by hundreds of thousands of Protestants as the divinely revealed pattern of the human drama, both past and future. Nor are we given any hint of the Revised Standard Version of the Bible, of its recent wide distribution, and of the controversy awakened by it. We are not told of such popular Catholic piety as attaches to St. Christopher and other medals and images, the content of catechical instruction, the use of the rosary, the devotion to Mary, including Our Lady of Fatima, or the attempts through the Liturgical Movement to improve the intelligent participation of the laity in the central act of worship of their Church. Nor are we introduced to the actual religious beliefs and practices which survive among the rank and file of the largely secularized majority of the Jews. On much of this popular religion information is obtainable only with difficulty, and much of it is in ephemeral publications. But if a well-rounded and accurate view of religion in America is to be obtained, much more space must be devoted to it than is to be found in these volumes, excellent though they are.

Yale University

KENNETH SCOTT LATOURETTE

LAW AND SOCIAL PROCESS IN UNITED STATES HISTORY: FIVE
LECTURES DELIVERED AT THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN,
NOVEMBER 9, 10, 11, 12, and 13, 1959. By *James Willard Hurst*. Foreword

by *Allan F. Smith*. [The Thomas M. Cooley Lectures, Ninth Series.] (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Law School. 1960. Pp. xvii, 361. \$5.00.)

SELDOM are historians afforded, within the confines of a single volume, the kind of challenge that this book presents, the challenge of new materials, new perspectives, and new concepts. Evidence is not lacking that, despite the cry for more work in legal history, the profession has not always been hospitable to studies that are the work of lawyers, whom it commonly distrusts as narrow and lacking in imagination. Professor Hurst's book can do much not only to dispel that distrust but to demonstrate the depth and range of untapped sources illustrative of the strivings, tensions, defeats, and compromises that cause and affect social and economic change. It is not too much to say that hitherto historians generally have been unaware of the vast possibilities of legal history. Concentrating on the judicial process and on legal doctrine, only rarely have they made use of those materials which are part of or ancillary to the legislative and administrative process—petitions, bills, reports, executive messages and orders—and which provide luminous insights into the hard facts of private interest, public sentiment, and practical maneuver that have accompanied the development of American institutions.

The five panoramic essays contained in this volume distill a substantial segment of the reflective thinking of an exceptionally able scholar. Their purpose is to examine certain operations of law among the processes of stability and change in United States history. No attempt is made specifically to define law because the author considers the term meaningful only in the context of time and place, but basically he appears to view it both as an anchor to tradition and as a vehicle for change, embodying authoritative precepts and commands as well as furnishing guides for conduct. Four features of law, he thinks, have shaped its distinctive roles in our history: its power has been placed in identified hands; the exercise of the power has been confined within constitutional limitations; it has emphasized form as a basis for legitimacy of substance; and it has resolved interest conflicts by other means than restrictions and penalties. The principal chapters examine, through detailed episodes and examples, the role of law in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in terms of drift and direction, initiative and response, action and inaction, force and fruition. Here are no facile generalizations, but a series of connected efforts to describe and provide fresh insights into countless aspects of the social process through the medium of a fact-based conceptual scheme suggested by the functions which the law has been called upon to perform, preventively and reparatively.

This is neither a text nor a reference manual, but a book for hard study. It offers no royal road to mastery of American legal history. Many of the ideas presented are not only abstract but protean, impossible to express with precision, difficult even to adumbrate. Others, stated or sketched with great clarity and objectivity, are advanced tentatively or skeptically as befits the historian's art. That the many-faceted aspects of law in society have been drawn together as they have

been, to form a disquisition on American legal history, is a tribute to the competence and intellectual grasp of a philosophic mind creatively at work in new dimensions.

University of Pennsylvania Law School

GEORGE L. HASKINS

TURNER AND BEARD: AMERICAN HISTORICAL WRITING RECONSIDERED. By *Lee Benson*. (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press. 1960. Pp. xiii, 241. \$5.00.)

THIS stimulating volume consists of a number of historiographical essays, held together by a central theme. Professor Benson argues that his subjects each propounded a significant hypothesis, neither of which has been adequately tested by subsequent historians. Turner's hypothesis was the significance of the frontier in American history, a conception influenced by the free land system of the Italian economist Achille Loria, which came "as a stunning confirmation of all that 'the young Wisconsinite' had been groping for and that he thought and saw around him." Beard's hypothesis was "the theory of economic determinism," exemplified in the process by which the Constitution of the United States was adopted.

To Turner, Benson devotes two sections of his work, the first of which treats the influence of Loria, the second, the general intellectual background against which the Turner thesis was announced. The analysis of Beard is more complicated. Benson establishes "the ambiguity and confusion in Beard's argument," but continues then to restate the hypothesis as it should have been formulated had his subject been less confused and less ambiguous. After demonstrating the logical fallacies in Beard's design of proof and in his method, Benson nevertheless then judges that we still cannot appraise the validity of "his brilliant pioneering book" and launches into an intemperate and unconvincing polemic against the critics of the economic interpretation, notably Robert E. Brown and Forrest McDonald. The bickering over details in the effort to add an explanatory gloss to Beard's text produces more heat than light. The attacks proceed from the surprising assumption that it was incumbent upon the critics to disprove Beard's hypothesis. Surely, however, it was enough that they should have shown the fatal weaknesses in the argument as presented, particularly since Benson himself demonstrates that Beard never clearly understood what he was writing about.

To treat Turner and Beard as analytical social scientists and to focus upon their hypotheses is to miss their genuine significance as historians, and this Benson has sadly done. Both men did begin their work in a period of naïve faith that the methods of experimental physical science could be applied to history. Turner snatched at a reference in Loria, Beard at one in E. R. A. Seligman, in order fashionably to embellish their work. But intellectual influences closer at hand had already shaped the ideas of the historians—in the case of Turner, Darwinism, environmentalism, and conservationism; in the case of Beard, J. Allen Smith and

the progressive assault on the Constitution. Furthermore neither author took his hypothesis as seriously as Benson does. Beard was casually inconsistent in the application of the economic interpretation in his volumes on the Constitution and Jeffersonian democracy and in his *Rise of American Civilization*; Turner was willing, in his essay on "The West and American Ideals" (1914) to jettison the idea of a necessary link between free land and democracy and to interpret the frontier metaphorically as "a whole wealth of unexploited resources in the realm of the spirit." Such a *volte face* would have shocked Loria. But then, these were not analytical social scientists but historians, although of a different kind.

Beard wrote primarily for the general public. His methods were not rigorously scholarly, he had no students, and there was little scientific continuity to his work. His influence upon subsequent scholarship was slight, and his hypothesis was not tested because it did not need to be. We can deal with it best now by forgetting about it and by approaching such problems as the adoption of the Constitution afresh.

Turner did have students and exerted a significant influence on scholarship in his own time and after. But his contributions and those of his students did not emanate from tests of his hypothesis. He suggested the importance of the frontier, of the West, of sectionalism, and of physiographic factors in terms that were not always precise or internally consistent. These concepts were aids toward catalogizing specific problems, not formulas to be tested. The core of his approach was something else again, the insistence that historical developments be viewed in their total context and not within rigid institutional lines. Only in the light of that insistence can his contribution to American historical writing be appraised.

These comments are not designed to add to the sterile argument about whether history is a science or not. History is a science, but it is as different from any others as astronomy is from botany. Its methods of ordering data are unique and related to the type of material it treats. It does not proceed by defining and testing precise hypotheses in Benson's sense. At least, it has not thus far done so.

Harvard University

OSCAR HANDLIN

AMERICAN PERSPECTIVES: THE NATIONAL SELF-IMAGE IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY. Edited by *Robert E. Spiller et al.*, for the American Studies Association. [Library of Congress Series in American Civilization.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1961. Pp. vii, 216. \$4.75.)

THIS little book had five editors: two principal and three associate. Its ten essays are the work of some of the most interesting scholars in American studies. Yet their combined efforts failed to make out of *American Perspectives* the synthesis originally intended. The editors admit their failure. In palliation, they assure the reader that he has before him, at any rate, "a conversation among students of

the American image." Even this modest claim does not hold up; he has instead a series of monologues.

The book, however, is by no means negligible. It has something to offer in one way or another to many observers of our culture. Three or four of the essays are exceptionally rewarding, and no essay is devoid of merit. To take them in the order of their appearance: Ralph Gabriel's essay, "History and the American Past," comes first and looks back farthest. With the wisdom of long contemplation he sees a pattern in the past and urbanely describes how our historians have interpreted it. Morton White's "Pragmatism and the Scope of Science" has a striking thesis: "the story of American philosophy may be told as a tale of radically opposed attitudes toward science." He argues his points persuasively. Robert Spiller writes about trends in twentieth-century literary criticism; Edward Waters writes all too briefly about American music, as does Lloyd Goodrich about American painting and sculpture. Thomas Cochran's topic is "The Social Scientists"; he is surprisingly successful in sorting out his widely scattered materials. The economist Kenneth Boulding holds to his assigned subject more closely than some of his colleagues in this book. He concentrates on the public image of our chief economic institutions. The Yale historian John Blum deals similarly with the public image in politics. He writes as well as anyone in the book, and his style has a dry felicity that reminds us of Santayana. Reuel Denny contributes a sprightly, authoritative essay on the discovery of popular culture by the intellectual. Eric Larrabee ends *American Perspectives* with an essay on an idea, the doctrine of mass production. His essay has a neatness to it which comes in part from the pursuit of a single object.

With every essay bearing an individual stamp, it would be surprising if many views were held in common. There were a few, however. Most of the contributors, as the editors note, agreed that the first fifteen years of this century were ones of "mounting dissatisfaction with previous norms and standards, and that the period between wars was one in which new cultural energies were consequently released." In more recent years a conflict had developed, the contributors felt, between consolidation and diffusion, between an attempt by Americans to fix their national image, on the one hand, and, on the other, to extend their imagination far beyond national boundaries. Finally, the contributors seemed to agree that this conflict had brought instability with it and an unsteadiness which is today most marked.

University of Maryland

CARL BODE

COLONIAL VIRGINIA. Volume I, THE TIDEWATER PERIOD, 1607-1710; Volume II, WESTWARD EXPANSION AND PRELUDE TO REVOLUTION, 1710-1763. By *Richard L. Morton*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Virginia Historical Society. 1960. Pp. xiv, 408; viii, 409-883. \$15.00 the set.)

THE publication of *Colonial Virginia* marks the culmination of a distinguished career of teaching and research on the part of Dr. Richard L. Morton, professor emeritus at the College of William and Mary. Morton has pored over and revised the manuscript—his lifework—whenever he could find time and opportunity amidst a heavy teaching and administrative schedule. The Virginia Historical Society, which has been cautious about publishing secondary works, has been emboldened by a munificent grant from the Old Dominion Foundation to issue this two-volume survey of Virginia history.

Morton writes with urbanity and gentle humor; his prose is simple and clear. He makes no claims of “new directions” in interpretation, being content to follow admired historians such as Thomas Jefferson Wertenbaker and Charles McLean Andrews to buttress his views. Unfortunately he is more given to reliance on “authorities” to support his position on controversial subjects than he is to answering the arguments that historians of differing persuasion have presented. Morton’s treatment of Bacon’s Rebellion is a case in point. We can be grateful to Morton, nevertheless, for providing us two handsome volumes to which to refer for a chronological account of the traditional history of colonial Virginia. We can be particularly grateful for Morton’s perseverance in covering the period of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, the history of which has never adequately been told and which Morton tells well.

Morton’s frame of reference is that of the “liberal” historians of the colonial period who, in the words of Clarence Ver Steeg, criticize colonial institutions for what they were not. For Morton, America’s past is, at best, the proving ground for the development of our present democratic institutions. Each episode in Morton’s story illustrates the theme of the slow but persistent demand for liberty and justice on the part of the white colonials acting through their House of Burgesses against the equally persistent attempts of the King and his representatives to throttle or delay the movement. Those upholding the King’s prerogative must, by definition, be shortsighted and stubborn, while those seeking to undermine the prerogative are, conversely, farsighted and resolute. Readers of history are familiar with this traditional postrevolutionary frame of reference for America’s prerevolutionary history. One may doubt whether such an integrating concept has present-day validity. Nevertheless, students will find Morton’s compendium useful, despite the author’s diffuse focus, despite his loyalty to criteria of judgment which allow unproven appearances to stand for facts, and despite his willingness to rely on the traditional printed documents and calendars rather than unpublished manuscript records. Other scholars should now be encouraged to assess the extraordinary wealth of manuscript sources for Virginia history which has, for several years, been available on microfilm, to produce a critical history of Virginia not in the thrall of nineteenth-century moral assumptions.

Smithsonian Institution

WILCOMB E. WASHBURN

THE ECONOMIC GROWTH OF THE UNITED STATES, 1790-1860. By
C. Douglass North. (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall. 1961. Pp. xv, 304.
\$9.00.)

TODAY economic historians are often urged to do their work in such a way as to illuminate the great problems of economic growth. Douglass North's book is the first in which this exhortation has been explicitly heeded. His analysis begins "with some initial hypotheses about economic development," and the gist of his argument is "that the timing and pace of an economy's development has been determined by: (1) the success of its export sector, and (2) the characteristics of the export industry and the disposition of the income received from the export sector."

Cotton was of course the export sector. The earnings received by the South created a demand for foodstuffs from the Middle West and provided westerners with the means to buy manufactures from the East. Another part of the South's earnings, as well as some of its raw cotton, provided direct stimulus to eastern industry and commerce. The economics of the three regions are succinctly described on the basis of the international flows of trade, on which the author is the recognized authority, and of the less satisfactory figures of interregional trade. The fortunes of the economy as a whole are examined by subperiods, of which the last, 1843-1861, coincides with that chosen by Walt Rostow as America's "take-off into sustained economic growth." The author accepts the evidence of recent statistics indicating that the Civil War, far from marking the beginning of industrialization, represented an interruption in a process already vigorously under way.

North describes the United States of the period as a market economy that can be largely understood in terms of "the behavior of prices" and of individual responses to them, with relatively little attention, after the disturbances of the Napoleonic era, to "institutional and political policies." Yet his actual description takes account of factors that would usually be thought of as institutional, such as the effect of the plantation system on the distribution and expenditure of income, and it lays particular stress on the gains that North and West secured from their greater investment in public education. Not all economic historians interested in the problem of growth would accept the limitations imposed by the author's scheme, and some might have sought for a different hypothesis with which to approach a period in which the greatest developments in transport, industry, and settlement were so largely achieved outside the export sector. But all readers will profit by the virtuosity with which the author has carried out his pioneering attempt to erect the structure of economic history on the basis of a theory of development.

Columbia University

CARTER GOODRICH

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, 1807-1886. By *Martin B. Duberman*. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1961. Pp. xvi, 525. \$7.50.)

THE most impressive feature of this biography is the thoroughness of the research that has gone into it. To write authoritatively about any Adams is to make this sort of commitment. For like others of his clan, Charles Francis Adams kept a diary over the decades and, if he was not a frequent correspondent, at least wrote at length when he did write. The perusal of these long personal records holds a danger. The author gets on such intimate terms with his subject that he looks at matters solely from an Adams viewpoint and accepts as facts what were really opinions and suspicions, and the Adamses had plenty of both. On the whole Mr. Duberman does not fall into this trap. His lavish resort to other source material, particularly collections of letters, in the Massachusetts Historical Society, the Library of Congress, the Public Record Office, and elsewhere forestalls distortion and inspires confidence. Naturally thoroughness pays off somewhat unevenly.

In my estimation the most successful result is the narrative of Adams' political career until the time of the Civil War. With a notable economy of words and with organizing skill, we are given a history of Massachusetts factions and parties, which dispels confusion and places a multitude of actors in proper perspective. For once the designation "Conscience Whig" has meaning. Since the focus is not confined to Massachusetts, this part of the biography furnishes an admirable account of the disintegration of Whigs and Democrats and the eventual success of a third party, the Republican. In this disorderly evolution Adams, if only because he was the son of his father, played a part. Admittedly the younger man was frequently vindictive, supercilious, and self-righteous. For Adams wanted power, but was unwilling to countenance the means necessary to attain it.

Politically the Adamses have reached their heights at times of crisis. They were climax runners, "clutch" fighters. At such moments their reflexes were ready and rational; they had the courage to act on their insights and the integrity to win the allegiance of others. One of the most surprising revelations of this volume is the role Adams played in Washington in 1860-1861 as a member of the Committee of Thirty-three which the House of Representatives established to still the rising sectional antagonisms. Here Adams exhibited statesmanship of a high order: devotion to ideals, compromise on nonessentials, generosity, and understanding of his foe. For one of the formally famous peaks in Adams' career, his Civil War ambassadorship to the Court of St. James's, Duberman's research demolishes once again conceptions more widely held by chauvinists than by historians. For the other, the Geneva arbitration of the *Alabama* claims, he demonstrates meticulously the vital role Adams played in saving the tribunal from disaster. Luckily these illustrious accomplishments do not adjourn the author's success in treating domestic policy. The chapter on Adams and the Liberal Republican movement of 1872 is one of the best in the volume.

If a book so successful requires a minor note of reservation, it is in the treat-

ment of the personal and family side of Charles Francis Adams. For all his learning, Duberman fails to realize that there are more desirable patterns of family relationships than a permissively trained and educated generation dreams of and that Puritanism is such a grab bag of drives and traits, falsely attributed, that it fails to explain much of anything. Possibly a sentence from his introduction points a finger at the reason for this failure of understanding. Adams was "one of that breed of positive nineteenth century Americans who in their complacency and certitude are foreign to our sensibilities." At any rate we may be grateful that the author did not try to bridge his gap of "sensibility" with Freudian chatter.

Thetford, Vermont

EDWARD C. KIRKLAND

MAPPING THE TRANSMISSISSIPPI WEST, 1540-1861. Volume IV, FROM THE PACIFIC RAILROAD SURVEYS TO THE ONSET OF THE CIVIL WAR, 1855-1860. By *Carl I. Wheat*. (San Francisco, Calif.: Institute of Historical Cartography. 1960. Pp. xii, 260. \$60.00.)

CARL Wheat has completed four-fifths of the monumental task of compiling the encyclopedia on mapping the trans-Mississippi West. The four volumes to date show the slow accumulation of knowledge about that region prior to the Civil War. This volume covers only six years of map making and is equated in the series with over 250 years of map making in the colonial era, with forty years of maps in Volume II, and with eight years of map making prior to 1855 given in Volume III. The decision of Congress to authorize surveys for western railroads proved to be the trigger that set off a rapid increase in map making west of the Missouri. As Wheat says, "the chief cartographic achievement of this half decade was surely the maps of the Pacific Railroad Survey of the mid-period. These are truly great maps in any examination of the maps of the West and their story."

The volume contains 101 maps arranged in ten chapters and interspersed with descriptive information about expeditions, quotations from various reports, congressional authorization for official explorations, and minutiae about travel and mapping that will only occasionally excite high interest among readers. Over fifty pages are given to a "Bibliocartography" which lists all maps by author, title, and with some description. There is also an alphabetical index at the end. A large part of the volume is given to the Preliminary Reports of the Pacific Railroad Surveys, 1855, to the Pacific Railroad Reports, 1857-1860, and to other explorations of the War Department. One chapter gives the maps of the Interior Department after it gained congressional authority to build wagon roads west. It will surprise some to find a chapter of Mormon maps, most of them done by or for missionary effort in the West, but a chapter on the immigrant guides for the gold rush of 1859 to Pike's Peak will seem in place. Six of the crude maps (of the seven extant) drawn by mountain men for outgoing expeditions may contribute little to cartography,

but suggest the contribution of folk knowledge to the scientific work of mapping the West.

Many of these maps are known to historians and geographers who have worked in the publications of the War Department or know the numerous maps that are reproduced in other books. Students seeking either precise knowledge about an army exploration of the West or general knowledge may well turn to W. H. Goetzman's *Army Explorations in the American West, 1803-1863*, or to W. Turrentine Jackson's *Wagon Road's West*. But libraries and collectors seeking a collection of information about the history of map making of the West will treasure this magnificent and beautifully printed book.

Wisconsin State College, River Falls

WALKER D. WYMAN

LINCOLN FINDS A GENERAL: A MILITARY STUDY OF THE CIVIL WAR. Volume V, PRELUDE TO CHATTANOOGA. By *Kenneth P. Williams*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1959. Pp. xviii, 395. \$7.50.)

A MELANCHOLY interest invests this book, with its publisher's preface recording that despite pain and weakness Kenneth Williams toiled on it almost to the day of his death, September 25, 1958. He left unwritten two intended final chapters on Chattanooga. Had he lived he would have added at least one more volume on Grant in Virginia. Yet in a sense he finished the task to which he gave more than a decade of concentrated labor, for he brought his study to the point where the President completely recognized Grant's capacities: Lincoln had found his general. And this book shows the same mastery of precise detail, the same strong opinions based on thorough research, the same readiness to combat fashionable views, and the same virile if sometimes awkward style, as the volumes written in full health.

Williams here deals with a comparatively neglected period in the Union war record, the western operations in the late summer and early fall of 1863: a valley between the military peaks of Vicksburg and Chickamauga, a seeming interlude full of intricacies of command, maneuver, logistics, politics, and minor engagements. The author's clarity and vigor save the story from dullness except in a few spots overdrenched in detail. His treatment of the mopping up necessary after Vicksburg, the capture of Port Hudson, Natchez, Yazoo City, Fort Smith, Little Rock, and other spots in Mississippi, Arkansas, and Louisiana, and Grant's smashing cavalry raid on the rail equipment at Grenada, reilluminates a number of forgotten episodes. A generally conventional account of John M. Schofield's activities and troubles in Missouri depicts the murky hell of an area where guerrilla outrages had become habit and passion. He shows that when Grant wished to send troops against Mobile, it was Lincoln himself who, for reason partly of international policy, insisted on priority for the occupation of western Texas. Lastly, a spirited analysis of Rosecrans' belated campaign in middle Tennessee does justice to that general's feat in pushing Bragg out of Tullahoma without obscuring his faults. It

is regrettable that Williams could not end his book with the climax of Chattanooga, and Grant's promotion.

Some of the best elements in the book are presented as merely incidental to the sweep of the narrative: the poor Union communications in the West, where Grant suffered from belated and garbled dispatches; the steady advance of the western troops in health and fighting power; the generally high merits of Grant's staff by mid-1863; the chronic misuse of Union cavalry on the eastern front; and the appalling Confederate shortages in supplies. Many readers will wish that Williams had expatiated on these topics. As previous volumes have foreshadowed, he presents an increasingly fervent eulogy of Grant and Halleck, devoting to the latter an appendix that runs through 1864. When Grant and Halleck clashed, as repeatedly happened, he finds it somewhat difficult to support both. While some of the defense of Halleck seems special pleading, Williams turns up one refreshing telegram written by the commander at the critical moment of Early's raid on Washington: "We have five times as many generals here as we want, but are greatly in need of privates. Anyone volunteering in that capacity will be gratefully received." Plums of this sort are not infrequent in the notes, which, occupying a full quarter of the book, are characteristically full of both combative opinions and of novel material, including unpublished letters by Grant and Rawlins.

Distinguished by scholarship, insight, and trenchancy, this volume and its predecessors will stand as one of the enduring monuments in the field of military history. They prove the implicit contention of the author, in the preface to his first volume, that the story of Lincoln's groping among many misfits for a field commander of high competence, and of Grant's slow but fairly steady advance to the point where he filled the requirements, is one of the most compelling in American history.

Huntington Library

ALLAN NEVINS

AMERICAN CATHOLICISM AND SOCIAL ACTION: A SEARCH FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE, 1865-1950. By *Aaron I. Abell*. (Garden City, N. Y.: Hanover House. 1960. Pp. 306. \$4.95.)

AFTER years of research in periodical literature, Professor Abell offers a detailed account of how, in urban America, the Catholic Church developed an organized interest in combatting poverty, delinquency, and industrial exploitation. His approach is relentlessly factual and almost strictly chronological. In general outline his story follows the familiar sequence of urban social reform: the creation of benevolent and charitable organizations in the mid-nineteenth century, together with unsuccessful efforts to get the poor out of the cities and into the open spaces of the West; a new, anxious perception of a labor problem in the 1880's, resulting in a strengthened temperance movement and animated debate over proposals for a better social order; during the progressive era, a more practical interest in social

settlements, labor legislation, and professional social work; an idealistic spirit of "social service" in World War I, followed by a conservative reaction in the twenties; vigorous support for organized labor in the 1930's. The author's bland and cautious judgments contain few surprises. His narrative, crowded with miscellaneous data, makes tedious reading.

From scattered comments a reader, nevertheless, can infer some of the defining characteristics of the Catholic social gospel. First, it was to a large extent defensive in inspiration. To forestall Protestant and public institutions from proselytizing Catholic inmates, the struggling Church of the 1850's and 1860's had to create its own asylums and reformatories. In the post-Civil War years Catholic benevolent associations spread widely as an alternative to secret societies and labor unions. Later, urban mission work and settlements sprang up to stem the loss of allegiance among immigrants; and an entente with conservative unionism developed in the twentieth century to check the threat of socialism.

Secondly, genuine social reform got more encouragement from papal encyclicals than from the American bishops. A chapter optimistically entitled "The Bishops Take Command" reveals the speedy shelving of the exceptional program to which some of them subscribed in 1919. The conservatism of most of the American hierarchy is left discreetly unexplained.

Thirdly, Catholic reformers never showed much interest in strictly political reforms or in the problem of monopoly; they concentrated especially on protecting workers from the hazards of the industrial system. Typically, they favored compulsory arbitration, a living wage, the NRA, consumer cooperatives, and various corporative plans. This emphasis derived, more clearly than Abell shows, from traditional Catholic social philosophy.

Actually, the author's interest centers in the relation of the Catholic Church to organized labor. Although he undertakes to survey a much larger field, the structural development of Catholic welfare activity is often blurred, and in the last two chapters this larger story disappears altogether. Once more, as in so much of American historiography, the concept of "reform" is forced to bear a more complicated institutional history than it will contain.

University of Michigan

JOHN HIGHAM

THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE SCHOOL: PROGRESSIVISM IN AMERICAN EDUCATION, 1876-1957. By *Lawrence A. Cremin*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1961. Pp. xi, 387, xxiv. \$5.50.)

IN 1914 Benjamin Orange Flower summed up the aspirations of his generation in a book called *Progressive Men, Women, and Movements of the Past Twenty-five Years*. Flower, founder of the *Arena* in the 1880's, described the progressive impulse as affecting not only politics, but equal rights for women, civil liberties, art, religion, literature, journalism, the theater, and education. But somehow, in

the years that followed, historians concentrated narrowly on politics, and only recently have they come around to approaching progressivism in its several manifestations.

The most recent product of this approach is Lawrence A. Cremin's new book, subtitled *Progressivism in American Education*. It is an important book, full of useful information, thoughtful, and written in a lively style by a scholar who is expert in his subject and fully committed to it. Cremin, who teaches at Teachers College, Columbia University, is practically alone today in trying to break down the parochialism separating the fields of education and history. Skillfully he locates the origins of educational reform in the progressive era and the two preceding decades of liberal dissent. Progressive education was part of the liberal response to the forces remaking America: industrialization, urbanization, immigration, and science. But once started, the movement to improve the schools had a dialectic of its own, reaching a peak in the 1920's and 1930's, declining in the 1940's, and dying in the 1950's. Cremin tells the story from beginning to end.

His major theme is that the exciting revolt against formalism at the turn of the century degenerated into a caricature of itself after 1920. After describing the sorry conditions of education sixty years ago, he shows how right reformers were in wishing to broaden the functions of the school, to base teaching on the new science of psychology, to make learning relevant to the pupil, to extend culture to the many, and to look to education as an agency for social change. Although critical of the ambiguities in these principles, Cremin absolves the first generation of reformers from being responsible for the crazes of a second and third generation for testing, methods, the child-centered school, and life adjustment. No one reading this book will confuse John Dewey, who denounced the excesses of progressive education in the 1920's as stupid, with the Deweyites.

And it is here that we touch on Cremin's achievement. He is the first historian to take the transformation of the school seriously enough to place it in the context of history and to give it the considerable attention it deserves. In doing so he contributes not only to his special subject, but illuminates as well social Darwinism, the progressive era, Greenwich Village Bohemianism, the cult of art, Freudianism, the New Deal, and the conservative revival since World War II. The outline for the developments since 1920 is firm and clear, but there are fewer details than for the forty years before it. This is a minor flaw in a book that is a major contribution to both the substance and the method of social and intellectual history.

Smith College

ARTHUR MANN

ORGANIZING FOR DEFENSE: THE AMERICAN MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY. By *Paul Y. Hammond*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1961. Pp. xi, 403. \$7.95.)

THE emergence of the United States as a world power at the turn of the cen-

tury, after the war with Spain had revealed glaring weaknesses in the military structure of the American high command, brought to the fore problems of military organization and relationships that have continued to plague the American people. *Organizing for Defense* is a study in depth of the efforts to solve these problems, starting with Elihu Root's reforms of the army in 1903 to the present. In successive chapters, Professor Hammond analyzes the development of the general staff system in the army, the navy's organizational pattern, and the mechanism of interservice planning that began with the establishment of the Joint Board in the same year as the creation of the general staff.

Hammond points out that the organization developed before the First World War fell far short of the requirements of modern warfare and failed to produce adequate coordination between the political and military agencies of the government, or between the services themselves. But the army and navy learned valuable lessons from the war and in the postwar years sought to correct the weaknesses of their own organization by a reorganization of the general staff and the Office of the Chief of Naval Operations (created in 1915), and by strengthening the Joint Army-Navy Board. The efforts of the military were greatly limited, however, by internal dissension and external opposition. The former arose not only from the customary disagreements between the services, but also from the increased importance of air power and the pilots' demand for autonomy, the latter from the pacifism, isolation, and economy of the 1920's and 1930's.

World War II witnessed many important changes in the organization of American military forces and led ultimately to the creation of a separate department for the air forces and a single Department of Defense encompassing the three services. Hammond analyzes these wartime developments, including the Joint Chiefs' conduct of the war, with some care. But he is interested primarily in postwar developments and devotes most of his attention to the passage of the National Security Act of 1947 and to the various reorganizations of the Department of Defense since. Finally, he considers the varied proposals made to reform the existing organization and calls for a more thorough study of the means for improving defense organization to secure "effective civilian control without jeopardizing the effectiveness of centralized military planning."

As a political scientist trained in administration, Hammond is interested chiefly in the organizational mechanisms devised to meet the demands of modern warfare. The historical evolution of these mechanisms he treats only briefly and as a background for discussion of the existing structure of the Defense Department. Thus, only three chapters of a total of thirteen deal with the entire period from 1900 to 1941, and approximately half of the book is devoted to developments since World War II. Since much of the material relating to the Joint Chiefs of Staff, successor agency of the prewar Joint Board, remains classified (as do the records of the three services), one wonders how definitive such discussion of comparatively recent events can be, and how valid are the generalizations based upon them.

Despite Hammond's interest in the administrative machinery itself, this study is not administrative history in the narrow sense. Hammond views administration broadly and attempts to place the military establishment in its political and constitutional setting within the executive branch of the government. He is interested not only in the internal workings of the armed forces, but also in their political role and in the external pressures exerted upon them, their relations with the President as commander in chief, with other executive agencies, and, finally, their relations with the Congress. Viewed in this way, the developing organization of the Defense Department and of the separate services acquires added significance as a chapter in recent political history.

Dartmouth College

LOUIS MORTON

OUR NATIONAL PARK POLICY: A CRITICAL HISTORY. By *John Ise*.

(Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press for Resources for the Future, Inc. 1961. Pp. xiii, 701. \$10.00.)

IN 1872 Congress set aside the operation of the public land laws with respect to a fabulous corner of Wyoming Territory and established Yellowstone National Park "dedicated and set apart as a public park . . . for the benefit and enjoyment of the people." The genesis of this landmark in American public land policy is John Ise's launching point for his description of *Our National Park Policy: A Critical History*.

The emeritus professor at the University of Kansas, known for his previous studies on timber and oil, divides his treatment into three parts of unequal length. The first nine chapters carry the story, by a park-by-park recital, to 1916 and the passage of the National Park Act which created the integrating mechanism lacking during the haphazard administration before its enactment.

For the story after 1916 he shifts in chapter titles to a discussion of the administration of the founding director, Stephen Mather, and follows by chapters on Mather's successors. While the chapter titles reflect this change, the text does not, with the result that any over-all appraisal of Mather, Albright, Cammerer, Drury, and Wirth is interwoven into the many details bearing on the creation and rectifications of the various parks and national monuments. The last segment labeled "Special Problems" covers wildlife, park concessions, wilderness concepts, and a short introduction to national parks abroad, where most notably Canada and New Zealand have followed the American example.

"Indefatigable" is a word much used, but in this instance it is an entirely correct one to describe the research, particularly in the legislative history of the national parks, upon which Ise has constructed his presentation. The style is severely expository except as an acrid comment creeps in from time to time against the local "interests" that opposed national parks or obstructed their administration.

Ise unhesitatingly manifests his general approval of the national park move-

ment. One of the few places where he disagrees with national park doctrine is in his suggestion that the parks might be open to hunting, but this is by no means a passage at arms. Conversely he is short and sharp with those who have opposed the parks. As between the "purists" who recently have been needling the National Park Service for its supposed emphasis upon construction and road building, he sides with the park service. He recognizes that its officials have to function in a complicated political, economic situation where accommodation upon peripheral matters is needed to protect the core of national park doctrine.

While the style does not enable emphasis on salient points and the text carries a heavy burden of detail redundant in places, the concentration of important material within its compass makes this a definitive work. For this reason the lack of a bibliography will be sorely felt by those who may wish to launch their own efforts from Ise's work.

Washington, D. C.

JERRY A. O'CALLAGHAN

THE CROSSROADS OF LIBERALISM: CROLY, WEYL, LIPPMANN, AND THE PROGRESSIVE ERA, 1900-1925. By *Charles Forcey*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1961. Pp. xxix, 358. \$7.00.)

IN this book Professor Forcey tries to make a critical analysis of the "new liberalism" of the progressive movement by focusing on the writings and ideas of Herbert Croly, Walter Weyl, and Walter Lippmann between 1900 and 1925. The author is not successful in his critical analysis, although he does make a contribution by illuminating the social backgrounds and personalities of these men to a greater extent than has been done before.

The failure of his critical analysis is caused primarily by his refusal to place his three major figures within the intellectual context of their time. The reader is led to believe that "The new liberalism had its first real beginnings in the minds of certain publicists and politicians," chief of whom was Croly. Indeed, Forcey suggests that Croly, almost by himself, must be considered the father of "the new liberalism" because when Croly's *The Promise of American Life* appeared in November, 1909, it helped give a new direction and coherence to a movement already faltering." The author makes no serious effort to discuss the tremendous intellectual revolution that had been taking place in America since the 1880's, a revolution from which Croly, Weyl, and Lippmann derived their ideas, not a revolution of which they were seminal thinkers.

This weakness inevitably leads Forcey to philosophical confusion and ambiguity. To prove the creative nature of Croly's thought, he quotes approvingly from John Chamberlain that "At a time when John Dewey was still struggling with . . . his . . . pragmatic philosophy, Herbert Croly was already a fullfledged instrumentalist." And yet Forcey admits that Croly learned much from Dewey between the publication of Croly's first book in 1909 and the appearance of *Pro-*

gressive Democracy in 1914. But since Forcey does not recognize that pragmatism is a catchword phrase which meant many things to many people, he finds no difficulty in labeling *Progressive Democracy* a pragmatic work even though he writes that "Croly still, however, put his father's 'religion of humanity' at the heart of democracy." And he quotes Croly that "The progressive democratic faith . . . finds its consummation in a love . . . which is at bottom a spiritual expression of the mystical unity of human nature."

The reader is still further confused by the author's treatment of pragmatism as a central theme of "the new liberalism" when he does not clarify the attacks on the *New Republic's* attitude toward American entry into World War I. He cites Randolph Bourne's statement that the men of the *New Republic*, by supporting the war, were driven from their "pragmatic work into an emotional bath of old ideals." He also refers to Harold Stearns's contention that the fault of the *New Republic* editors in this case was that they were too pragmatic, that "they had condoned Wilson's mistakes and hypocrisies because they hoped by working in the stream of events to control the situation." Since, according to Forcey, Bourne, Stearns, and the editors of the *New Republic* were all pragmatists, what then is the ideological basis of their mutual disagreements?

Ultimately one becomes confused about "the new liberalism" itself. Forcey has found that Croly, Weyl, and Lippmann believed in "a capitalist democracy" preserved by "a reformist middle class." He also found that they had "faith in the democratic pursuit of essentially socialist ends." Finally, he writes of Stearns that "he showed sense in his redefinition of liberalism as merely a 'tolerant and rationalistic temper' that might characterize anyone from a socialist to a conservative."

I do not criticize the work for not simplifying "the new liberalism," but I do criticize it for not analyzing and illuminating the contradictions and complexities.

University of Minnesota

DAVID W. NOBLE

GIFFORD PINCHOT: FORESTER-POLITICIAN. By *M. Nelson McGeary*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1960. Pp. xi, 481. \$8.50.)

CERTAIN men have found a larger position in our folklore, and therefore a livelier place in our memory, than they seem to hold in our history. One thinks, for instance, of Fisher Ames, John Randolph, Robert Barnwell Rhett, John Peter Altgeld, and Albert J. Beveridge. More people, without much doubt, know their names than know what they did. And this is perhaps only justice, the poetic justice that is more exact than the historical. For these men were, in one way or another, arresting personalities who succeeded somehow in vividly personifying a controversy, a tension, an impulse in the national life. In their company the subject of this biography certainly belongs. Gifford Pinchot is still a household word. At his name an ancient controversy leaps to mind and also a proud national im-

pulse—the idea of conservation that exerts such a powerful attraction for this prodigal people.

Mr. McGeary has set himself the task of finding out what else Gifford Pinchot may have been besides a controversial forester. To achieve his purpose he has examined the extensive papers of his subject, fourteen other collections, the appropriate government archives and documents, and many books of history and personal recollection. The result is a solidly based, even-handed account of a long career.

The high point of the narrative, as of the career, remains Pinchot's collision with Richard A. Ballinger. It is here treated at length and in detail. Not much that is new or different appears in the account, but it is good to have this celebrated quarrel reported so patiently and judiciously. Whether or not the invalidation of the Cunningham claims was in fact "a victory" of such magnitude that it justified all the turmoil and vituperation of the process by which it was obtained is another matter. McGeary appears, on the whole, to be content to let judgment rest with the individual reader's canvass of the merits of the case he so carefully presents.

For the rest McGeary fills in the story on either side of this high point with commendable patience and skill. What he contributes to our knowledge of the conservation movement in general and of the conservation of forests in particular is both useful and interesting. The section dealing with Pinchot's early education in forestry both here and abroad is of special value in its revelation of our primitive understanding of the field. As for the later career, there are comprehensive treatments of Pinchot the Bull Moose, Pinchot the two-term governor of Pennsylvania, and Pinchot the perennial office seeker.

From these pages several things became clear. First, that in his initial term as the chief executive of Pennsylvania Pinchot was a good governor as Pennsylvania governors go. McGeary indeed quotes opinion past and present holding that he was one of the best. An honest man, he was zealous in the enforcement of the laws, persistent in his efforts to bring the utilities under firmer regulation, and eager to resolve conflicts between management and labor. Second, that Pinchot had the narrowness and inflexibility of the cranky idealist. Coming to issues with rigid attitudes, he did not, it seems, ever take much trouble to fortify or modify his convictions by reading, study, investigation, or reflection. Nor did he take the trouble to accommodate his ideals to the realities of politics. Indeed it must almost seem that in all his continued bickerings and controversies he confused the public righteousness he had learned at Theodore Roosevelt's knees with the private contentiousness that was congenital in him. Third, that he was a man both vain and ambitious quite apart from his undoubted idealistic purposes. Not until he was beyond three score and ten did he lay aside his desires and inept gropings for the presidency.

All in all he was a handsome, stylish, arresting, shallow man who did some

good in several of the side shows of the American drama and did no real harm by his restless, meddling acrobatics in the main tent. Not the least of McGeary's gifts as a biographer is that he refrains from this kind of judgment. He has painted his portrait, one feels, with a very steady hand, virtues and all.

Massachusetts Institute of Technology

ELTING E. MORISON

NEWTON D. BAKER: A BIOGRAPHY. By *C. H. Cramer*. (Cleveland, Ohio: World Publishing Company. 1961. Pp. 310. \$6.00.)

SURELY one of the most interesting personalities of the Wilson administration was Newton D. Baker, the President's second Secretary of War. Baker was a pacifist who mobilized the greatest war machine the nation had known up to that time. He was diminutive and frail seeming but tight packed with energy and stamina, compassionate yet possessed of a caustic sense of humor and a keen critical insight into the frailties of his contemporaries. (He once expressed surprise that Theodore Roosevelt had never actually bitten anyone, and he said of Lloyd George's *Memoirs* that the first four volumes were devoted to proving the ineptness of the British high command and the fifth to arguing that the high command should have been given the added burden of mismanaging the AEF too.) Baker was a flashy, tub-thumping extemporaneous speaker but also a truly learned man and an enthusiastic scholar. All these and many other aspects of his personality are well described in C. H. Cramer's biography.

Although the main parts of Baker's professional life—his work as protégé and then as successor to Cleveland's reform mayor, Tom L. Johnson, his service as Secretary of War, his activities in the law, his near miss of the presidential nomination at the 1932 Democratic Convention, and his later unfavorable reaction to the New Deal—are all covered in the book, it is primarily as a study in personality that it should be judged. The treatment throughout is topical and, if not exactly superficial, rather more impressionistic than exhaustive. These pages are full of interesting bits of information and fine sketches of subsidiary characters, but nothing is really developed at length and carefully analyzed. Baker's work as mayor of Cleveland, where he favored such radical policies as government ownership of railroads, the use of the "yardstick" principle in the public utility area, and public subsidy of the arts, is covered but not properly set in its frame of reference. Nor does Cramer adequately explain Baker's turnabout to conservatism in the 1930's. The footnotes are very difficult to follow, referring nearly always to large numbers of letters and other sources covering long passages in the text.

But the portrait of Baker that emerges is clear and persuasive. This tiny, dynamic man looms large in the history of his times. He was far wiser than Wilson in his understanding of the Russian Revolution. He was an excellent Secretary of War; although not an especially efficient administrator, he preserved the principle of civilian leadership of the military in wartime, but kept the respect and support

of the high brass at all times. Baker was also responsible for the extensive educational program developed by the army for troops overseas. (Later he turned down the presidency of a number of important universities, and it is too bad that he did for his ideas on higher education were eminently sensible. "The idea of anybody supposing that a course in 'Business Administration' could be part of an education!" he once wrote. "Of course a systematic study in Business Administration is a most excellent thing to have, but a man should be educated first.") Even in his last years, fighting against the tide of the New Deal, he managed to maintain a decent perspective. He could not bring himself to support Landon in 1936, for example. His own explanation of his anti-New Deal attitude—that he sympathized with the objectives of the Roosevelt administration, but disliked its methods—is less than completely satisfactory, but to the end of his life he remained an intelligent, rational, decent person. Cramer's book should do much to revive interest in his career.

Columbia University

JOHN A. GARRATY

TURMOIL AND TRADITION: A STUDY OF THE LIFE AND TIMES OF HENRY L. STIMSON. By *Elting E. Morison*. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1960. Pp. xii, 686. \$7.50.)

THE biographer who comes to his task as an "insider," as one who fully shares the values of his subject, stands to gain in capacity for sympathetic understanding. Yet he risks losing something in the way of critical objectivity. (An "outsider," of course, runs risks of an equally serious but different kind.) As Stimson's biographer, Elting E. Morison, who has had the advantage of free access to all the man's memorabilia, takes a completely inside approach. The result is a book in which, for the first time, Stimson is revealed as an understandable human being.

Here we behold him, to begin with, as "a sober little boy, sallow, weak-limbed, hating physical exercise above all things." For a long time, it appears, "he labored under an ill-defined impression that his father in some strange way held him accountable for the death of his mother." And the father was a person of "a certain detachment, a kind of disinterested, even chilling calculation." No wonder the boy became the man he did, humorless, imperious, and self-conscious about his own and others' honor. No wonder he grew up to be as strenuous an advocate of "the strenuous life" as was his friend Theodore Roosevelt. Besides its revelations concerning Stimson's personal life and personality, the Morison biography contributes information and insights regarding his legal career and, in public office, his administrative work. We learn, for example, how he dealt with office organization and routine and, more particularly, how he put efficiency into the War Department after taking it over in 1940. The book catches and reflects the spirit of Stimson's times in the sense in which that spirit moved Stimson and like-minded men. The book does less than justice to dissenting views. We are told, as evi-

dence of his wise statesmanship, that in the 1930's Stimson set about "correcting the deep-seated error on which our policy was based—the setting of peace above righteousness." In defense of his part in preparing Pearl Harbor against attack and in assigning blame for what ensued, we are informed that he at least "thought he was right." Regarding the decision to drop the atomic bombs, we are assured of his realization that power, even atomic power, does not corrupt when "directed toward wholesome uses by responsible men." We are given the impression that Stimson and those who agreed with him were moral giants, while with the possible exception of Herbert Hoover those who disagreed with him were rather petty. Thus William R. Castle, Hoover's Assistant Secretary of State who seldom saw eye to eye with Stimson, is summarily disposed of as "an insecure little man."

On the whole, we are permitted to view Stimson only as he viewed himself and his friends viewed him. We are given no really critical evaluation of the man or of his career. The few criticisms we are vouchsafed are grounded on the subject's own assumptions; these assumptions themselves are never questioned. In recounting Stimson's roles as a policy maker (special emissary to Nicaragua, governor-general of the Philippines, Secretary of State, and Secretary of War) the Morison study is competent though not especially rewarding to those familiar with the existing literature. He relies heavily upon such monographs as those of Robert H. Ferrell, and William L. Langer and S. Everett Gleason. The book, nevertheless, remains highly effective as biography. It is charmingly written and makes its subject live. On these grounds it well deserves the Parkman Prize which the Society of American Historians awarded it in 1961.

University of Wisconsin

RICHARD N. CURRENT

THE DECISION TO AID RUSSIA, 1941: FOREIGN POLICY AND DOMESTIC POLITICS. By *Raymond H. Dawson*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1959. Pp. xv, 315. \$6.00.)

MUCH has been published on American foreign policy from the outbreak of the European war to Pearl Harbor and on its wartime relations with Soviet Russia, making use, in recent years at least, of a growing body of documentation. Therefore much of the factual material in Professor Dawson's volume is already familiar. But by using it to concentrate upon a particular problem, covering a period of less than a year, he has succeeded in adding new facets to our understanding.

His purposes as delineated in the introduction were: "(1) to describe the process of policy-making which resulted in the decision to extend lend-lease aid to Soviet Russia; (2) to show the relation of this series of decisions concerning policy toward the Soviet Union to the broader complex of foreign policy problems which simultaneously confronted U. S. officials; and (3) to relate the decision to supply aid to the Soviet Union to the climate of public opinion within which the

policy-makers acted." In fulfilling them, he has drawn upon a variety of sources to illuminate the actions and attitudes of the President and his military and civilian advisers, of Congress, and of the public.

The possibility that the presidential powers conferred by the Lend-Lease Act might be used to aid Russia was raised as early as January–March 1941 during the congressional debates on the bill, although the question at that time was highly academic. The evidence strongly suggests that it was more a device of the opposition to defeat the entire measure than a legitimate issue. In any case, its failure to affect the Act or to arouse public fears was a first milestone on the road to complete economic assistance, granted later under quite different circumstances. Meantime, through that spring, the administration, in possession of evidence of a forthcoming German attack upon the Soviet Union, attempted, under difficult conditions, to keep diplomatic lines open to Moscow in order to take advantage of any development that might offer relief to beleaguered Britain.

The military was convinced that the Russians could not survive the German onslaught. In the light of past experience, the State Department, with the exception of Secretary Hull, was unwilling to go beyond the relaxation of the trade restrictions then in force against the Soviet Union. But Roosevelt, before and after the June 22 turning point, was more optimistic concerning Russia's prowess and the efficacy of massive economic aid to that country as a means of bolstering the democratic cause. Apparently public opinion was closer to the President's view than to that of the doubters and the isolationists.

In accordance with his estimate of the situation during the summer and fall, Roosevelt used makeshift methods to render Russia matériel support while awaiting the backing of the nation, the resolution of religious opposition, and the passage of the second lend-lease appropriation bill, which was approved on October 23 without any ban on its extension to Russia. Secure in majority approval, he formally granted lend-lease aid to the Soviet Union on November 7, 1941.

Dawson's thesis is that the decision to aid Russia was the least dangerous and most feasible, externally and domestically, of several policies open to the United States after the German attack upon the Soviet Union. The principal alternative, urged by many of Roosevelt's advisers, including Secretary Stimson, was to take advantage of Germany's preoccupation in the east "to clear the Atlantic of the German menace" in preparation for armed alliance with Britain following the Russian defeat. Neither American military preparedness nor public opinion warranted such a step, which risked a shooting war. Agreed. But one caveat: the well-known reluctance of the President to make memoranda of his conversations and conferences and his proclivity for day-to-day assessments and determination of action cast some doubt upon the consistency, if not the final outcome, of his thinking.

University of Colorado

ROBERT PAUL BROWDER

PRESIDENTIAL TRANSITIONS. By *Laurin L. Henry*. (Washington, D. C.: Brookings Institution. 1960. Pp. xviii, 755. \$7.50.)

THIS big book deals with a serious problem—the transfer of power when a President of the “out” party comes into office. Only the Taft-Wilson, Wilson-Harding, Hoover-Roosevelt, and Truman-Eisenhower cases are covered here. Unfortunately this study appeared too late to be of use to the present incumbent. The growing complexities of the governmental structure and today’s powder keg situations have increased the difficulties and the dangers of the turnover, although the Twentieth Amendment has shortened the time period between election and inauguration.

The story of each transition is carried from the campaign to the end of the period of “shakedown,” usually about a year after the inauguration, with some attention to long-time effects. Original research is combined with careful use of the work of others to present a well-organized synthesis of each aspect of transition fortified with informative footnotes.

On the whole, the four outgoing Presidents come off somewhat better than their successors. The latter, committed to programs of change, were almost unduly suspicious of attempts of the retiring executives to be helpful. Taft in 1912–1913 and Wilson in 1920–1921 had no axes to grind, although Roosevelt and his advisers in 1932–1933 may be excused for suspecting that Hoover’s persistent proffers of advice and information might lead to commitments to continue his major policies. Truman, most careful in putting his house in order and offering his services to his successor, was thwarted to a degree by personal animosities resulting from the campaign. A notable exception was the smooth and orderly transfer of the Bureau of the Budget where Joseph M. Dodge, appointed early as Eisenhower’s representative, worked effectively with the retiring director and his staff. Other key officials, also chosen soon after the election, in most cases took steps to acquaint themselves with their approaching duties.

In the second phase of transition, the period of adjustment to office and development of policies, Congress has been a problem. Party veterans, partisan, irresponsible, and victimized by their own propaganda, have called for sweeping policy changes, committee investigations, purges of the rascals and patronage for the faithful, and the virtual submission of the executive department to their dictation. Wilson and Roosevelt seized and held the reins, but Harding could not, if he had wanted to, and Eisenhower yielded too much because of his conception of the presidency and his earnest desire to cooperate with the Taft wing, strong in Congress. Ultimately he reduced the power for mischief of the extremists but the transition was long drawn out and difficult. New administrators soon learned the hard facts of bureaucratic life, but congressmen found it difficult to give up the psychology of the “outs.”

The author’s major proposals to minimize the shock of change include careful, long-range planning, creation of a transition organization, and an early as-

section of presidential leadership. He wonders, also, whether the President might not be inaugurated before Congress convenes, so that he might start ahead of his constitutional rival.

Ohio State University

EUGENE H. ROSEBOOM

A CHECK LIST OF CANADIAN LITERATURE AND BACKGROUND MATERIALS, 1628-1950. Compiled by *Reginald Eyre Watters* for the Humanities Research Council of Canada. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1959. Pp. xx, 789. \$15.00.)

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF CANADIAN BIBLIOGRAPHIES. Compiled under the direction of *Raymond Tanghe*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press in association with the Bibliographical Society of Canada. 1960. Pp. 206. \$10.00.)

AMERICAN readers will doubtless be incredulous when they find that "Canadian Literature" seems sufficiently extensive to fill more than seven hundred pages of the fine bibliography prepared by a professor at the University of British Columbia. The subtitle, however, brings the work into perspective—"A comprehensive list of the books which constitute Canadian literature written in English, together with a selective list of other books by Canadian authors which reveal the backgrounds of that literature." Obviously, French Canada is not ignored, and the "background" material accounts for the size of the book.

This impressive volume opens with a foreword by A. S. P. Woodhouse, chairman of the sponsoring organization, a preface by the compiler (this should be read by all users of the book), and a list of symbols and abbreviations. Of the two "Parts" that constitute the work, the first consists of some 319 pages on "poetry," "poetry and prose," "fiction," and "drama"—in other words, what is customarily regarded as "literature." Part II (the remaining 390 pages) provides the "background" material: works on bibliography, biography (including memoirs, autobiography, and letters), education, essays and addresses, local history and description, religion and morality, social history, scholarship, travel and description, and miscellaneous topics. Symbols at the end of the citations indicate libraries in which items are located.

Whatever the astonishment occasioned by a large guide to Canadian literature, it is certain to be compounded by the appearance of a bibliography listing 1,665 Canadian bibliographies. Yet bibliographical work has been a part of Canadian scholarship for more than seventy-five years. The first attempt at a bibliography of Canadian bibliographies, however, dates only from 1930, when such a work was produced under the supervision of Miss Marion Higgins at the Library School of McGill University. Now comes this up-to-date study, based on Miss Higgins' pioneer efforts, sponsored by the Bibliographical Society of Canada, and compiled under the direction of the president of that society, the Assistant National Librarian of Canada. The bibliographies are arranged under twenty-

nine headings of great variety: temperance, law, religion, science, education, agriculture, geography, numismatics, commerce, linguistics, music, and so on. They include works available only in manuscript (or microfilm of same), with designation of location.

In both works the titles are arranged alphabetically, by surname of author, under each heading, and Tanghe has numbered his items. The bibliographical data are extensive and adequate. Unfortunately, there are too many indexes—two in the first work, three in the second. A single index is actually easier to prepare, and it is much handier to use. The functional quality of both books might have been enhanced by the use of more topical subdivisions, but this is a debatable point.

Congratulations are due the men who undertook the arduous labor of compilation, the sponsors who made publication possible, and the press which produced such fine typography and binding. From one who is attempting a comprehensive guide to Canadiana, herewith a special word of thanks.

Western Reserve University

JOHN HALL STEWART

THE FAILURE OF UNION: CENTRAL AMERICA, 1824-1960. By *Thomas L. Karnes*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1961. Pp. xii, 277. \$6.00.)

PROFESSOR Karnes's purpose is "to provide the first survey in English of all the known attempts to combine the Central American states, from the time of independence until the present." In connection with the formation and life of the Federation, he doubts the validity of party labels and underscores the disintegrating effect of the abrasive particularism. The myth that the Federation failed because Central Americans slavishly copied the Constitution of the United States falls easily before his argument. He demonstrates that Frederick Chatfield, that irascible Englishman, did not subvert the Federation. And with firm resolution, he puts the blame for the failure where it belongs: on Central Americans. After the failure in 1838, he traces clearly and succinctly the many futile attempts to reunite the five nations. He sees the unification of Italy and Germany as examples for Justo Rufino Barrios, who tried to achieve union by force. And he shows that the United States initially favored union, but that it helped to undermine attempts at union when its interests were involved.

Reflecting on the many failures, Karnes is pessimistic about the prospects of any future attempts, though he sees some hopeful signs. More important, I think, is his suggestion that the desire for union has never been as widespread as the advocates have led us to believe. Finally, he does not agree with many that some sort of union is necessarily the answer to the many problems nagging at the five republics.

If the book has a weak part (and the reader must remember that it is a survey),

it is the discussion of the Federation. If union of any kind ever had a chance to succeed, it was then. Thus it seems to me that this critical period merits closer examination. Bundles of records of the Constituent Congress (1823-1825), of the committees of the Congress, and of the correspondence coming from the provinces to the Congress, as well as those for the presidential election of 1825, are available in the Archivo General del Gobierno de Guatemala. These would have given depth to that section and would have corrected the minor errors concerning the election.

Far outweighing this criticism, however, is the use of a wide variety of sources, especially those from Costa Rica, and Karnes's ability to bring the story of failure together for the first time in a tight, readable synthesis.

Birmingham-Southern College

LOUIS E. BUMGARTNER

* * * *Other Recent Publications* * * *

BOOKS

General

INTERNATIONAL BIBLIOGRAPHY OF HISTORICAL SCIENCES. Volume XXVI, 1957, including some publications of previous years and a world list of historical periodicals. Edited for the International Committee of Historical Sciences, Lausanne. Published with the assistance of UNESCO, and under the patronage of the International Council for Philosophy and Humanistic Studies. (Paris: Armand Colin. 1959. Pp. c, 414.) Representatives or national delegations from approximately thirty-five nations contributed the seven thousand references to monographic and periodical works included in this volume. The cumulative listing of periodicals cited in the last five volumes (1953 through the present volume) is an attractive bonus for the historian. As is noted in the preface to the work, this listing is the only available substitute in the absence of a new edition of the *World List of Historical Periodicals and Bibliographies*, compiled by P. Caron and M. Jaryc (1939). In format this volume is like its predecessors, perhaps too much so. Works are classified according to a rigidly imposed system, a library-type classification, which thwarts in a sense the purposes of an international bibliography of this magnitude. For example, the classification "Histoire du livre" under "Sciences auxiliaires de l'histoire" is of doubtful utility when it contains references to works as diverse as "Two Lost Mexican Books of the Sixteenth Century" and "Broxbourne Library, Styles and Design of Bookbindings from the 12th to the 20th Century." A geographical arrangement throughout the body of the bibliography might help bring together works that are now widely scattered under headings which are too broad to be serviceable. In the classical fields, the classification does follow countries, for example, Greek and Roman history, which are convenient pegs on which to hang the bibliographical citations. In works related to modern history, with some exceptions, traditional historical categories like "Histoire économique et sociale de l'époque moderne," range over materials that might be more conveniently located in a text arranged by country or area. In contrast, a few highly generalized area categories like "Amérique" hide works of a specific nature like "Grinding Stones and Mullers of Costa Rica" and "The Sixteenth-Century Pokom-Maya." The inconvenience resulting from the arrangement of materials is somewhat offset by the extreme care with which the work has been compiled and by the reliability of the author and geographical indexes. What is needed perhaps is a reassessment of the manner in which the materials are presented on the assumption that the perspective of historians has changed in the last thirty years.

Washington, D. C.

NATHAN A. HAVERSTOCK

ÉLÉMENTS D'HISTOIRE DES MATHÉMATIQUES. By *Nicolas Bourbaki*. [Histoire de la pensée, Number 4.] (Paris: Hermann. 1960. Pp. 276. 18 new fr.) This work assembles most of the historical introductions which appeared hitherto in my *Elements of Mathematics*. The "my" underscores a pleasant prank in the good tradition of the École Normale. A generation ago, a group of the most brilliant among

French mathematicians undertook to write a treatise of higher mathematics which would present the subject in a thoroughly modern spirit. To make light of academic stuffiness, they decided on a collective pseudonym, and they chose the improbable name of Bourbaki, which had belonged to a painfully inglorious general in the war of 1870. Their real names included André Weil, Dieudonné, Henri Cartan, in addition to a number of others who are now the acknowledged masters of French science. Their enterprise has become an international landmark, although it is as yet far from being concluded. The present "historical notes" would not have been needed in a systematic treatise, but they prove the authors' philosophic breadth of mind. They are, of course, unequally ample according to subject and individual temperament and perforce as incomplete as the treatise itself as a whole. One would vainly search in them for such important subjects as differential geometry, algebraic geometry, variational calculus, number theory, or differential equations. These belong to future issues. On the other hand, one will find excellent historical introductions to calculus, algebra, real numbers, and topological spaces. The opening paper on "The Foundations of Mathematics" is an admirably clear and concise presentation of the whole subject from the Greeks to Goedel's Theorem. To the historian who is not a mathematical specialist we recommend the discussion of the role of Leibniz in which some hoary misapprehensions are corrected and the section on "the notion of truth in mathematics." As a matter of historic fact, mathematics stands today not only as the most complete body of thought worked out over three centuries, but also as the bearer of the profoundest metaphysical problems of our time; for it is the science of all the possibilities of thought.

Massachusetts Institute of Technology

GIORGIO DE SANTILLANA

LA SCIENCE AU SEIZIÈME SIÈCLE: COLLOQUE INTERNATIONAL DE ROYAUMONT, 1-4 JUILLET 1957. [Histoire de la pensée, Number 2. École Pratique des Hautes Études, Sorbonne.] (Paris: Hermann. 1960. Pp. 344. 15 new fr.) This is another of the "Colloques" on the history of scientific thought sponsored by UNESCO. The first one (1953) concentrated on Leonardo da Vinci and the scientific experience of the sixteenth century. This one, organized by Professor Koyré, aims at completing the picture by studying some often neglected aspects. The century of the "precursors" is, as yet, very inadequately understood. Certain peaks stand out, names like Copernicus and Vesalius, Cardan and Tycho, but the whole period of conflict and contradiction, which includes the Council of Trent as well as Erasmus and Montaigne, when the new astronomy came into collision with an all-powerful and advancing astrology, when the renaissance of mathematics allied itself with the resurgence of magic, is hazy. The sixteenth century is unbelievably far from us by its presuppositions, its mental habits, its superstitious respect for ancient authority, by the very structure of its intelligence which was ready to accept not only belief, but knowledge *ex auditu*. Something of this bewildering texture begins to appear in detail when we bring into focus men and activities hitherto barely known. To this task thirty-seven participants from fifteen nations bent their efforts in this last "Colloque." J. Pelseneer insisted, strongly challenged, on the Reformation background of modern science; V. Ronchi showed the transformation of optics from a theory of vision into a physical science; I. B. Cohen discussed the impact of the discovery of the New World on contemporary consciousness; a key figure of that stormy century, Giordano Bruno, was studied in two complementary papers, one by P. H. Michel on his atomism, one by G. de Santillana on his conception of infinity as the premise to that of Leibniz. Several contributions dealt with the impact of the technicians (cartographers, architects, instrument makers, navigators) on the intellectual milieu, including those of J. M. Millas Vallicrosa, H. Michel, and V. Zoubov. The role of Ramus in empiricism was dealt with by R. Hooykaas and J. Fleckenstein;

W. Hartner analyzed through the telling example of an imaginary planet the confusing role of authority is astronomical theory; A. Koyré demonstrated the reason for Tartaglia's failure in dynamics; A. Birkenmayer showed Erasmus Rheinhold never to have been a Copernican, but rather a precursor of Tycho. A wonderful example of early zoology, Michel Herr's *Book of Quadrupeds*, was presented and illustrated by E. Wickersheimer, and V. Zoubov presented a sumptuous Russian edition of Vitruvius with Daniele Barbaro's commentary.

Massachusetts Institute of Technology

GIORGIO DE SANTILLANA

A HISTORY OF LAY JUDGES. By John P. Dawson. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1960. Pp. viii, 310. \$6.50.) In this survey of four different legal systems over long periods of time—Roman, French, German, and English—the author's principal object has been "to provide perspective, by bringing together the results of much specialized work by numerous specialists." It would seem to follow from this that the writings of legal historians and other secondary authorities, to many of which he refers at length in his copious footnotes, have been the most important sources of information for his purpose, and that his book ought to be judged as, primarily, a conspectus of "secondaries." Yet it may well be that legal historians will come to look upon his researches in legal records, especially in the court rolls, hitherto unpublished, of a particular English manor in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, as the basis of the most valuable, as well as the most original, part of his book. As used by Professor Dawson, the word "lay" is contrasted with "professional," and the latter term refers to "a person who applies a substantial part of his time and energy, with some degree of continuity, to the task at hand"; in most instances "this specialization is rewarded by paid income." The contrast drawn is not between the amateur and the expert, the trained and the untrained, though the word "professional" commonly carries "some implication of specialized training and skill." In the author's usage, however, it does not necessarily do so, and he speaks of the "untrained professional." Among the legal systems considered, the greatest attention is paid to the English, and this not primarily because of our American legal inheritances from England in general. A striking feature of the book is the stress laid upon English local courts "because the accounts so far given are inadequate and because for an American they have been an exciting discovery." And among English local courts the author's greatest interest is in the old manorial courts. The institutional hero of the book (it has no personal hero) is the court of Redgrave, a Suffolk manor, the extant rolls of which begin in 1260 and come down, with a few gaps, until at least 1711. They are very voluminous, and Dawson has undertaken only some samplings of them. The Redgrave rolls are now located at the University of Chicago and form part of the large collection known as the Bacon Papers. His research in them has resulted in a contribution of very considerable importance to English legal history. But what of "lay judges"? As human beings, creatures of flesh and blood, they hardly appear in these pages. This was probably inevitable because very little is known, or is knowable, about the vast majority of them as individuals. The author's approach is rather severely institutional, since it could not be biographical. The history of lay judges is part of the history of the participation of laymen in governmental work in general. This participation was not something that Englishmen demanded. It was, rather, something demanded of them by the central government of England for reasons that the author makes clear. It was essentially a case of what the late Albert Beebe White called, in the happily phrased title of his brilliant and perceptive little book, *Self Government by the King's Command*.

Rochester, New York

ROBERT LIVINGSTON SCHUYLER

FREEDOM FROM FEAR: THE SLAVE AND HIS EMANCIPATION. By O. A. Sherrard. (New York: St Martin's Press, 1961. Pp. 200. \$3.95.) Mr. Sherrard traces the history of slavery from classical times to the nineteenth century. He discusses the condition of slaves in ancient Greece and Rome, of the American Indians in the Spanish colonial empire, and of the Negro in British West Indian colonies in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Half the book is devoted to the emancipation movement. Sherrard writes for a popular audience, and his account is clear and informative. The horrors of the "middle passage" and the servitude of the plantations are vividly described. One of the most interesting chapters is based on the MSS journals of Thomas Thistlewood, a Jamaican planter who kept a diary from 1748 to 1786. The book is marred by a determined but unnecessary effort to extenuate England's part in the whole nefarious business. Historians like Gardiner ("intent on blaming his country") and Lecky are censured. We are told that Captain Smith might have introduced slaves into Virginia "had it been the English way"; and later, that slavery did not "comport with the English character." The Dutch, however, "could not expect to go unchallenged." The *asiento* is condoned because "England had not yet appreciated the true nature of slavery." Indeed, the slave trade turns out almost a blessing in disguise, since "owing to certain elements in the English character, the transfer of the trade into English hands was to prove the first effective step towards its abolition." Similar indulgence is not shown the Spaniards, whose "natural greed and inborn brutality" are frankly acknowledged. Similar terms might well be used to describe the behavior of Thistlewood, who kept his slaves docile by semistarvation and the whip. Occasional examples of racial bias occur. Thus Sherrard concurs with John Lok that Africans were "a people of beastly living, without God, law, religion or commonwealth." In discussing emancipation, sole credit is given to religion. The economic motives mentioned by Klingberg and others are not stressed.

University of Washington

GIOVANNI COSTIGAN

WELTKIRCHEN LEXIKON: HANDBUCH DER ÖKUMENE IM AUFTRAG DES DEUTSCHEN EVANGELISCHEN KIRCHENTAGES. Edited by *Franklin H. Littell* and *Hans Hermann Walz*. (Stuttgart: Kreuz-Verlag, 1960. Pp. 878. DM 58.) This massive work is designed to illuminate all aspects of contemporary Christianity. Its purpose is to give in condensed form what the serious inquirer will wish as he seeks to know the highly diverse and complex current scene and the historical background that is essential to an understanding of the scene. Every branch of the church is covered. The course of Christianity is dealt with in all lands and peoples. Recent times are emphasized, but earlier developments are not neglected. Here sketches of such historical figures as Augustine, Francis of Assisi, Luther, and of such recent and contemporary personalities as Karl Barth, Pope Pius XII, John R. Mott, Toyohiko Kagawa, V. S. Azariah, and William Temple will be found. As the title suggests, a major concern is with the ecumenical movement in those multi-form manifestations that now embrace the majority of the Protestants of the world and a substantial proportion of the eastern churches. The volume has summaries of most of these communions. It takes up the geographical spread of Christianity and describes the present situation in the countries outside the Occident into which the faith has been carried. As is proper, it contains accounts of the World Council of Churches, the World Alliance for Promoting International Friendship through the Churches, the World's Student Christian Federation, the International Missionary Council, and a number of other organizations that constitute the ecumenical movement. It does not neglect the Roman Catholic Church, but provides concise information about its structure, its orders and congregations, and its history. Over four hundred scholars from many countries and churches have con-

tributed. Most of the articles conclude with brief bibliographies. Here is a one-volume, dependable encyclopedia on all aspects of the history and current situation of the Christian religion. An English edition is in preparation.

Yale University

K. S. LATOURETTE

THE ECUMENICAL COUNCILS. By *Francis Dvornik*. [Twentieth Century Encyclopedia of Catholicism, Volume LXXXII, under Section 8, The Organization of the Church.] (New York: Hawthorn Books. 1961. Pp. 112. \$3.50.) Within the brief space at his disposal, the distinguished Byzantine scholar, Father Francis Dvornik, has dealt with his theme in an admirably objective and penetrating manner under four headings: "The First Ecumenical Councils," "The Medieval Councils of the Western Church," "The Shadow of the Conciliar Theory," and "The Councils of Trent and of the Vatican." He gives a short but clear presentation of the role of the emperors in the early councils and shows that they did not ordinarily interfere in doctrinal definitions to the extent so often assumed. Through his own well-known researches, he has newly interpreted the history of Photius and of the so-called Eighth Ecumenical Council, and he has summarized his findings in the present work. In dealing with the ecumenical councils of the West in the Middle Ages, he emphasizes the characteristic differences between the early eastern and the western councils, and he stresses the role played by the latter in the attempts made to reunite the eastern and western churches. In view of the approaching ecumenical council, he thought that special attention should be given to the Councils of Trent and of the Vatican. His excellent treatment of papal infallibility as defined by the Vatican Council is particularly welcome, for perhaps no other Roman Catholic doctrine is more universally misunderstood. This is an outstanding little book.

Catholic University of America

MARTIN R. P. MCGUIRE

FILOSOFSKII IDEALIZM I KRIZIS BURZHUAZNOI ISTORICHESKOI MYSLI [Philosophical Idealism and the Crisis in Bourgeois Historical Thought]. By *I. S. Kon*. (Moscow: Publishing House for Socio-Economic Literature. 1959. Pp. 403. 11 rubles, 85 kopecks.) This volume by a young Leningrad scholar contains more at a high level of sophistication than the title propagandistically suggests and the author's earlier writings indicated. The first Soviet work of its kind, it is presented as an analysis of "only those philosophical currents which exert the greatest influence upon historical thought," although it discusses some 150 English, German, French, Italian, and Spanish historians and philosophers of history. Wide reading, generally faithful reproductions of ideas he criticizes, and succinct style are to his credit. What is not is that he mistakes the multitude and variety of theoretical positions in the West for symptoms of a "crisis" characterized by "pessimism, morbid skepticism, doubts as to the past, and uncertainty as to the future." Compared with the paucity and poverty of such activity in the Soviet Union, the theoretical discourse in the West reflects rather intellectual quest and enterprise which carry on the tradition of free inquiry and balk at dogmas handed to scholars by politicians or theologians. While Soviet bloc practitioners of the craft adhere, from conviction or compulsion, to such dogmas, historians in the West are engaged, as Kon's volume reveals to Soviet readers, in a running debate over the fundamental issues of the discipline. The "crisis" arises rather from the fact that, as Kon puts it, "the subject of historical science is becoming ever more complex" with the "gigantic expansion" of the field in time, space, and subject matter, and the sharp rise in accurate and detailed knowledge. These strides have shaken the old certainties, generalizations, and methods and have spread a sense of the incompleteness of the foundations for broad judgments. As in all science, efforts at analysis in history alternate

with efforts at synthesis as new vistas and realms of historical information are opened and then conquered. At present Western historical scholarship shows that it has outgrown the old generalizations and is in the process of moving toward new ones; this may look like a crisis, but such crises are the very essence of the scientific endeavor. As the Soviet academician E. A. Kosminskii has wisely noted, "careful criticism of sources makes possible to a very large degree the separation of the doubtlessly established from the hypothetical [but] thereby the area of the doubtful vastly expands. Precision in investigation brings along doubt." What Western historians need is not a set of Marxist nomothetical dogmas, whose acceptance Kon urges as his prescription for the "crisis," but continued adherence to free inquiry, use of G. P. Gooch's "judicial temper," and better bibliographic and technical controls over the enormous mass of knowledge which is constantly being accumulated.

San Fernando Valley State College

MARIN PUNDEFF

GESTALTEN DER GESCHIEDENIS IN DE OUDHEID, DE MIDDELEEUWEN EN DE NIEUWE TIJD. By *W. Den Boer et al.* (The Hague: Daamen N. V. 1960. Pp. 252. Glds. 13.90.) As the preface notes, the three authors (W. Den Boer, F. W. N. Hugenholtz, T. G. J. Locher) attempt to give both a series of sketches of some historians and a consideration of ancient, medieval, and modern approaches to history. To do both adequately in the space allotted is almost impossible, and the net impression left by the book is thus somewhat confusing. Brief essays on the lives and works of selected historians, insufficiently integrated with the cultural context, make up most of the book; interspersed are reflections on philosophies of history. Due to limitations of space, much must be excluded; thus, Hellenistic historians, apart from Polybius, are omitted entirely. While various interesting ideas are presented, such as Locher's remarks on Ranke's religious views, there is no space to work them out in detail. Despite this, the reader can hardly help absorbing some notion of how differing presuppositions influence the writing of history. Den Boer notes the influence of myth and later the dogma of the "world-cycle" on classical historians and compares this with the early Christian view of history. Thucydides and, interestingly, Luke, are treated in some detail. Hugenholtz stresses the influence of the idea that history is the story of God's dealings with man, held by Gregory of Tours, Bede, and Otto of Freising, and notes the increasing secularization of late medieval historical writing. Locher, after moving rapidly through the Renaissance and the Enlightenment, takes up the influence of nationalism and ideology on modern historical writing, and then devotes an essay to the modern "cyclical" philosophies of history of Danilevski, Toynbee, and others. The reader whom the authors have in mind seems to be the intelligent layman rather than the professional historian. There are attempts at popularizing ("Have you heard the news? Brasidas is in Macedonia!"), suggestions for further reading, and minimal footnoting. The book can perhaps best be summed up as a somewhat sketchy introduction to historiography, which aims at arousing interest in the field.

Illinois State Normal University

DIRK JELLEMA

GREAT BRITAIN AND MEXICO IN THE ERA OF PORFIRIO DÍAZ. By *Alfred Tischendorf.* (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press. 1961. Pp. xii, 197. \$5.00.) In an age when hitherto underdeveloped nations are looking East and West for new supplies of development capital, the history of "economic imperialism" during the last century takes on special significance. Dr. Tischendorf's scholarly and compactly written monograph sets another stone in the partially laid foundation of this history. It relates and analyzes an unhappy chapter in the heyday of British economic expansion, when the representatives of the then most powerful capitalist system in the world tried their

skill at promotion and development in an area of the world where Britain had already come to recognize the supremacy of American political influence. At the beginning of the period Britain did not even maintain diplomatic relations with Mexico, having broken them off in 1867 to show displeasure at the execution of Maximilian. Seventeen years later, after trying in vain to avoid the embarrassment of seeming to back down, the Foreign Office agreed to renew relations. British investments in Mexico increased during the following years, but in almost every field they were overshadowed by more dynamic American capital, and coldly realistic balance sheets showed that few British or American investments earned anything like the expected profits. The author has laid out on the dissecting table British ventures in railroads, mines, land projects, rubber, utilities, manufacturing, and petroleum and has proved that most of their entrepreneurs lacked the Midas touch. Drawing heavily upon the Foreign Office archives and the files of British limited companies at Bush House, London, he has presented a dispassionate yet understanding view of British business activities and has even managed to leaven the inevitable statistics with urbane humor. He suggests the probable reasons for the large proportion of British failures, but he makes little effort to compare British experiences with those of more successful Germans and Americans during the same period or to analyze the effect of British enterprises on the Mexican people or government. In a book of this size the addition of such considerations might have made the whole work superficial, and it is just as well that the author chose to limit his field and do a thorough job.

Hamline University

DAVID M. PLETCHER

AMERICAN OPINION ABOUT RUSSIA 1917-1920. By Leonid I. Strakhovsky. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1961. Pp. xiii, 135. \$4.75.) Professor Strakhovsky's book is disappointing. Instead of being the much-needed study implied in the title, it is largely a survey of editorials from the *New York Times* and the *Washington Evening Star*. In excerpts that sometimes near or exceed a page in length, the *Times* is quoted seventy times and the *Star* thirty-seven. This tedious material is interspersed with brief allusions to other journalistic opinion (principally courtesy of the *Literary Digest*), some quotations from the *Congressional Record*, a familiar narrative of the activities of Americans in Russian affairs, and some of the author's own opinions. The book adds very little to our understanding of the critical first three years of Soviet-American relations. This is most unfortunate because George F. Kennan's superb diplomatic chronicle of the subject needs to be supplemented with more studies of opinion and attitudes within the United States. The author clearly numbers himself among those who condemn the American government for not seeking, with all necessary means, the immediate and utter destruction of the infant Soviet power. He believes that unflinching military intervention combined with political and economic aid to anti-Bolshevik forces, especially those led by Admiral Kolchak, would have brought down the Soviet regime. He praises by implication those American newspapers and individuals who were most aggressively interventionist and criticizes those who urged not more intervention but withdrawal. Certainly, as Strakhovsky and others have demonstrated, American opinion was ill informed, American agents in Russia were inept, and the American government as a whole bungled Russian affairs. And yet would a major military effort against the Soviet government have succeeded or in any way made the world a better and more peaceful place? I, unlike the author, am inclined to say no.

Yale University

GADDIS SMITH

THE UNITED STATES AND CUBA: BUSINESS AND DIPLOMACY, 1917-

1960. By *Robert F. Smith*. (New York: Bookman Associates. 1960. Pp. 256. \$5.00.) United States relations with Cuba have been dominated by business interests from the time of Cuban independence to the coming of Fidel Castro's revolution. This thesis has been implemented many times in the past, and Dr. Robert F. Smith of Texas Lutheran College implements it again, this time with intensive attention to the means by which business pressure groups and individual companies have intervened in United States federal decision making. The little book is highly documented; the terminal footnotes take up forty-nine tightly printed pages of the total. Its main body is supported largely by substantial probing of the National Archives and by Congressional Reports. In this area, its author has indicated his mastery. The results, however, are not perfect. The title is far too broad in its promise to define the contents accurately. The work is very uneven and disjointed. Its premises are never stated. One passes from a cogently argued preface which is really a polemic warning to the United States to awake to the implications of the social revolutions sweeping the world, to a series of chapters quite lacking in methodological and analytical sophistication. Six virtually patternless chapters of data finally give way to five in which the author attempts at times, in a modest but cumulatively bolder manner, to shape and interpret his material. Toward the end, the book begins to take stock of the results of the implicit and bland assumption that what is good for United States business is good for Cuba. It can be argued, perhaps, that the dispassionate view is more telling because of its understatement. If this is so, premises surely must be stated and an analytical pattern erected that will make the conclusions appropriate. On the other hand, while Smith has started by proving that he can write passionately and well, his failure to define premises and pattern means that his material is not fully exploited for its real meaning.

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PHILIP B. TAYLOR, JR.

ZA KULISAMI POLITIKI "NEVMESHATELSTVA": ISPANSKII VOPROS V POLITIKE IMPERIALISTOV ANGLII, FRANTSII I SSHA NAKUNE VTOROI MIROVOI VOINY [Behind the Scenes of the "Non-Intervention" Policy: The Spanish Question in the Policy of the English, French, and United States Imperialists on the Eve of the Second World War]. By *R. S. Ovinnikov*. (Moscow: Institute of International Relations Press. 1959. Pp. 325. 13 rubles, 10 kopecks.) Several philosophers of history have argued that each age must reanalyze history for its own needs and understanding. In practice Soviet historians have made the widest use of this thesis, often changing interpretations every few years. The Spanish Civil War, 1936-1939, is an episode in history which has served the social purposes of the Soviet Union in various ways. This is not surprising since it was a crisis in which Western diplomacy was at its worst. In the maze of intrigues the Western politicians were divided and ineffective, succeeding only in further alienating the Soviet Union and confusing their own people. At various times Soviet works on the Spanish Civil War have exposed the evils of Fascism, the betrayal of the socialists, the selling of the Spanish people to Hitler and Mussolini by England and France, and the beneficent support given by the Soviet Union to the people of Spain. With the cold war Soviet historians have assigned the United States a leading role in the betrayal. This new Soviet analysis of the Spanish Civil War crisis by R. S. Ovinnikov continues to stress the role of the United States, along with England and France, in betraying Spain. Unlike previous works, however, the main emphasis is not on the role of diplomacy but on the intrigues of the bourgeois capitalists. The book purports to tell the story of the connivance and competition of the various capitalist circles in France, England, and the United States with each other and with the Nazis and Fascists, plotting to maintain and extend their

control over the Spanish economy and government. The social purpose of this interpretation to the current scene is obvious. Surprisingly the Soviet role in "aiding the Spanish people" is ignored, perhaps because it was an unfortunate example where Soviet material aid to the peoples' struggle against imperialism did not bring victory. Ovinnikov used Western sources widely; in fact, little seems to have escaped his attention. He has, however, made no critical use of the material, merely accepting dicta as evidence as long as it fitted his thesis. His position, nevertheless, cannot be denied entirely. The evidence is clear that some French, English, and American capitalists did have interests in Spain and that they negotiated and compromised with the Germans and Italians in an effort to preserve their holdings. The actual and potential commercial value of Spain, however, was not large enough to play the leading role assigned by the author in the diplomacy surrounding the Spanish Civil War. Instead, the policies were shaped by ideological, strategic, and domestic political issues. Measured by Western standards, the book is not history, and the Soviet reviewers must judge whether it serves a social purpose.

University of California, Los Angeles

DAVID T. CATTELL

MILITARY POLICY AND ECONOMIC AID: THE KOREAN CASE, 1950-1953. By *Gene M. Lyons*. [A Publication of the Mershon National Security Program of the Ohio State University.] (Columbus: Ohio State University Press. 1961. Pp. xiii, 298. \$4.50.) This is a comprehensive and balanced political account of the rise and decline of the United Nations' Korean Reconstruction Agency during the Korean War. UNKRA, with United States backing, was established December 1, 1950, when hope still existed for UN military success in Korea. Subsequent events, however, including the indecisive fighting, MacArthur's dismissal, McCarthy's search for scapegoats, and the presidential election of 1952, led not to victory and the conventional peace settlement but to acceptance of the new concept of a limited war and pressures for withdrawing American troops from Korea. Consequently, by the time the truce agreement was concluded in July 1953, the United States had switched to a bilateral policy of massive defense support for the republic of Korea and its new army, forsaking the multilateral policy of economic aid and leaving UNKRA to wither away. Despite these developments, the author, a UNKRA official from 1951 to 1956, clings wistfully to the notion that the original multilateral aid policy might have been carried out successfully if the Department of State had been willing and able between July 1951 and July 1952 to have some of the theater commander's authority over economic matters delegated to the agent general of UNKRA. Had such a delegation been made, he believes, a political advantage would have been gained in the cold war, permitting the United States "to surge forward in the struggle for the mind of Asia."

Paris, France

JUSTIN WILLIAMS

Ancient and Medieval

SECONDO CONTRIBUTO ALLA STORIA DEGLI STUDI CLASSICI. By *Arnaldo Momigliano*. [Storia e Letteratura, Number 77.] (Rome: Edizione di Storia e Letteratura. 1960. Pp. 499. L. 6,000.) In 1955 Professor Momigliano published reprints of essays written for a variety of journals between the years 1929 and 1954 under the title *Contributo alla Storia degli Studi Classici* (*AHR*, LXI [Oct. 1955], 96). The present volume is its sequel. It contains seventeen articles and four book reviews that appeared between 1954 and 1959, plus five articles and three reviews that were published in British journals during World War II. Fifteen items are written in English, thirteen in Italian, and one in German. The two longest occupy forty pages each, the two shortest,

less than four. The articles have been grouped according to their content, and supplementary footnotes and bibliographies bring the references up to date. The first four essays are concerned primarily with the evaluation of the historical methods of Herodotus, the next two with sources for the early history of the Roman Republic. The controversial "An Unsolved Problem of Historical Forgery: The *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*" (*Jour. Warburg Inst.*, 1954) and two articles on the *Origo Gentis Romanae* follow. The two monographs appearing next are, in my opinion, the most valuable contributions in the collection: "Cassiodorus and the Italian Culture of His Time" (*Proc. British Acad.*, 1955) and "Gli Anicii e la Storiografia Latina del VI Sec. D.C." (*Rend. Accad. Lincei*, Dec. 1956). Succeeding articles deal with Maffei, Burckhardt, the concept of Caesarism, and other historiographical topics; in their midst is a superb essay on the life and work of the late Gaetano De Sanctis. The author's immense erudition and complete mastery of bibliography have long received international recognition. At the same time, he has little use for positivism and little hesitation in saying so. His general viewpoint throughout this book is that subjective judgments in the absence of historical evidence are not a vice but a virtue and that the ancient historian, whose principal difficulty is the lack of sufficient source material rather than the superabundance of it, must not, in his concentration upon minutiae, abandon inquiry into basic causes, ultimate origins, and the development and progress of the historical disciplines. At the same time, his pen is facile enough to provide highly readable discussions of broad developments of historical trends with a wealth of details that suggest thesis topics by the score. His book can therefore scarcely fail to inform and stimulate both graduate student and mature scholar. It can also, at times, scarcely fail to irritate, for the author's pen occasionally becomes too facile. For example, he knows very well that the Emperor Marcus Aurelius Probus could not have been related to Sextus Petronius Probus unless the normal rules of Roman nomenclature were abandoned; yet he bases a negative argument on the "family of the Probi." "It would be fatuous to maintain that we can readily expose a forgery when the forgery was made in antiquity." The truth of this statement would seem to depend upon the skill of the forger. "The *Historia Augusta* is our most important source for Roman history from Hadrian to Diocletian." A harsher judgment of Dio Cassius would be hard to imagine, and it is rough on Herodian too. Such criticisms as these are minor. More important is the question of the value of reprinting articles, however excellent, that have already appeared in easily accessible periodicals. Surely book reviews that are now more than fifteen years old could have been omitted. Yet it would seem paradoxical to deplore the publication of a book that is so informative and provocative.

University of Vermont

JOHN H. KENT

KREUZZUGSDICHTUNG DES MITTELALTERS: STUDIEN ZU IHRER GESCHICHTLICHEN UND DICHTERISCHEN WIRKLICHKEIT. By *Friedrich-Wilhelm Wentzlaff-Eggebert*. (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co. 1960. Pp. xix, 404. DM 28.) Despite the efforts of Bédier, Hatem, and others there has been a lag in the literary history of the crusades. This is understandable in the light of twentieth-century preoccupation with economic, political, and sociological studies. Grousset, Runciman, and many other scholars reflect this interest in their works, but a move in bringing crusading literature and history into closer harmony is reflected in recent works such as those of Waas. The present work continues and expands this interest by attempting to bring literary history into its proper focus by tracing the crusading idea in medieval poetry. In general, the author shows the continuity of the crusading theme in medieval poetry, deals with the preparation for the crusades through the veneration of the Cross and its influence on liturgy and poetry, notes the close connection of vernacular and

Latin crusading subjects, and finally traces the influence of the changing sociological conditions on later crusading songs. Specifically, the author prepares the historical background by turning to accounts of the papal call and preaching of the various leaders of the crusades. He further relates the events pertinent to the theme in the controversy of Church and state. This preparatory work relies heavily upon secondary material. On the other hand, the book becomes impressive and useful as the author turns to the influence of the crusades in selected and representative poems. The treatment of Holy War, the *militia Christi*, Cross symbolism and use in liturgy, the role of Cluny, and an analysis of the *Kaiserchronik* are handled very well. The tracing of the importance of the papal call and preaching in the Latin and vernacular poems is convincing. The author is especially familiar with the German songs which have received less attention than the Romance studies in the past. The work is concluded with excellent notes and a selected bibliography. The author has made a strong case for the interplay of historical and literary forces as well as offering a valuable work for literary historians.

University of Houston

JOHN HUGH HILL

ENGLISH BARONIES: A STUDY OF THEIR ORIGIN AND DESCENT, 1086-1327. By I. J. Sanders. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1960. Pp. xiv, 203. \$5.60.) This book will give much pleasure and be kept by desks and even at bedsides. It is packed with fact and is alphabetically arranged, but it lacks completely that mad breakfast table quality that Round connected with this matter. Sanders' book is a little dictionary. Its four pages of preface and fifty pages of index indicate its balance. The old, entangling problems (e.g., what makes a barony?) are essentially avoided. The author has already dealt with them in his *Feudal Military Service in England*. The talk here is of when the heiress Maud's inheritance of half the barony of Wem increased to the whole barony, when the barony of Weedon Pinkeny was surrendered to the crown, how the baronies of Much Marcle and Pulverbatch descended, and of much marrying—between Domesday and “the last full feudal summons to military service.” The book is divided into halves. In the first are treated only those baronies for which there is evidence of the payment of the baronial one-hundred-pound relief fixed by Magna Carta, and in the second some of the fiefs for which there is no such evidence but which were called baronies. The neat texts of over two hundred descents are enriched by footnotes full of information and references. Their importance and utility should be obvious.

Rome, Italy

ROBERT BRENTANO

THE ENGLISH MYSTICAL TRADITION. By David Knowles. (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1961. Pp. viii, 197. \$3.75.) The most remarkable chapter in this careful study of the English mystical tradition is probably the second, entitled “The Evolution of Catholic Mystical Theology.” The author finds, prior to the fourteenth century, three streams of mystical doctrine: the Augustinian as later formalized by the Victorines, the Neoplatonist, and the age-old, traditional, practical instruction for the ascetic life and the life of prayer of the fathers of the desert which had remained current through the ages. Richard Rolle, the unknown author of *The Cloud of Un-knowing*, Walter Hilton, Julian of Norwich, and Margery Kempe, he asserts, all combine these three elements in their lives and writings in fourteenth-century England, though in varying degrees. He devotes a chapter to each, stressing the “impressive and passionate sincerity” of Rolle, the real significance of *The Cloud* as the earliest instance in any vernacular literature of a direct, nonsystematic instruction in the contemplative life understood as the life of mystical, infused prayer, Hilton's book as a widely read mystical and devotional classic, and the narrative of Julian as an “artless masterpiece.”

The author concedes that the *Book* of Margery Kempe has little spiritual wisdom and no true mystical experience, yet regards it as a document of the highest value for the religious historian of the age. "The Wife of Lynn, with all her hysteria, is a more worthy and a more sensitive woman than her older contemporary, the Wife of Bath." Numerous excerpts from all these writings, carefully selected and strategically placed in relation to exposition, are included in the text. A final, rather long chapter is devoted to the sixteenth-century mystic, Father Augustine Baker, notable mainly for his "preservation and presentation" of the work of these fourteenth-century mystics. This is clearly a small book on a large subject, written by a master hand.

Smith College

SIDNEY R. PACKARD

LES ORIGINES DES VILLES POLONAISES. Compiled by *Pierre Francastel*. [École Pratique des Hautes Études, VI^e Section. Sciences économiques et sociales. Congrès et colloques, Number 2.] (Paris: Mouton & Co. 1960. Pp. 242.) This is a collection of thirteen papers prepared for or resulting from a colloquium arranged in 1957 under the auspices of the École Pratique des Hautes Études. With one exception ("Villes de droit polonais" by Labuda, which deals with documentary evidence for the existence of towns under Polish laws, a somewhat controversial concept, it seems) they present the results of excavations undertaken by Polish archaeologists since 1945. These excavations are supposed to modify the common opinion that one can speak of the existence of towns in Poland only since the thirteenth century, that is, only after a charter (as a rule exempting a place from the feudal order) changed a village or a castle suburb into a town or city. One sees immediately that to a certain extent the acceptance of this interpretation of excavations as proving the existence of Polish towns as early as the tenth century depends on terminological considerations. If we define "town" in legal terms exclusively, there is no reason to change the common opinion. If we prefer a functional definition, however (that a settlement becomes a town once division of social labor and specialization have taken place, so that we can speak of merchants and artisans, different from husbandman), the modification becomes acceptable. But it seems that in any case the results of these excavations will change our ideas regarding the origin and development of urban life, commercial routes, and so forth, in Eastern Europe before the twelfth century. Even apart from his interest in these special problems, every historian who works with written documents only will be gratified to see how much Polish archaeology has to contribute to the general history of the early Middle Ages. The authors of papers dealing with specific places (Biskupin, Lednica, Gniezno, Kraków, Łęczyca, Poznań, Płock, Kalisz, Wrocław) are Rajewski, Mikołajczyk, Żurowski, Żaki, Nadolski, Żak, Gąssowski, Miss Młynarska jointly with Mrs. Uzdowska-Szałowska Morelowski. Two papers ("L'Évolution des plans et de l'ordonnance des villes du Haut Moyen Âge en Pologne" by Dziewoński and "La formation de la civilisation urbaine polonaise du Haut Moyen Âge à la lumière des recherches récentes" by Jażdżewski) are more general. Particularly important is the introductory paper ("Position du problème") by Gieysztor. Some of the papers are followed by a discussion in which additional Polish scholars take the floor. Small wonder that hardly a problem in the historiography of towns was left untouched. The whole volume makes fascinating reading.

Scripps College

FRANCISZKA MERLAN

HET LEGER EN DE VLOOT VAN DE GRAVEN VAN VLAANDEREN VANAF HET ONTSTAAN TOT IN 1305. By *J. F. Verbruggen*. [Verhandelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten

van België. Klasse der Letteren, Verhandelng, Number 38.] (Brussels: the Academie. 1960. Pp. 194.) Professor Verbruggen has made another of his significant contributions to the growing list of modern studies dealing with the history of medieval warfare. At the same time it is to be deplored that this important and detailed monograph on the military and naval establishments of the counts of Flanders prior to 1305 will be of limited use to historians in the field unless they possess a reading knowledge of Flemish. There is not even a summary in French that often accompanies the publications of the Royal Flemish Academy. Despite the title, a preponderance of space and emphasis is directed toward the land forces at the disposal of the counts. This is a result of the fact that the military activities of the rulers of Flanders were directed primarily against enemies who were not readily accessible by sea. The study presents a clear and coherent picture of the legal and customary bases on which service, both by land and sea, was due the count, the composition of the mounted and infantry components, and the manner in which horse and foot were armed. Students of English military history will find the author's account of the participation of Flemish mercenaries in the civil disturbances of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries interesting. William of Ypres, King Stephen's great mercenary captain, emerges as a soldier of more than ordinary capacity. Of more importance is Verbruggen's discussion of the tactics and strategy employed in Flemish military operations, which occupies more than a quarter of the entire work. The plates are well executed, especially the series of impressions of comital seals extending from Charles the Good (1119-1127) to Robert of Béthune (1305-1322). The utility of this monograph would have been enhanced by the inclusion of a bibliography and by the addition of a subject index to supplement the name-place index. The accumulation of such scholarly works will enable someone in the future to write a truly comprehensive history of warfare in the Middle Ages.

Woman's College, University of North Carolina

JOHN BEELER

A KNIGHT OF GREAT RENOWN: THE LIFE AND TIMES OF OTHON DE GRANDSON. By *Esther Rowland Clifford*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1961. Pp. xvii, 312. \$6.50.) This book hardly fulfills what the author seems to announce as its main goal, but it so effectively accomplishes other purposes that it deserves an honorable place on library shelves, public and private, devoted to medieval history. "Most of the books on chivalry as such [query: what else is chivalry but chivalry?] leave the reader with the impression that a knight's life was divided between warfare . . . and lovmaking. . . . What else did a knight do? Because he is so frequently mentioned," says Esther Rowland Clifford, "we know at least what Othon de Grandson did." This statement suggests that Othon was representative of his class, an untenable generalization, and that his days are so well documented that we can perceive him in the flesh of daily living, which, the author herself soon after indicates, is not the case. Few knights, for their intellectual attainments, enjoyed the confidence of kings and pursued the distinguished diplomatic career that Othon de Grandson maintained for the better part of a century. What Mrs. Clifford's book most significantly reveals is the unity of Christian Europe, a familiar concept but one that is given fresh and vigorous reaffirmation from this biographical viewpoint. A Savoyard who served Edward I and Edward II as ambassador and diplomatic "trouble-shooter," Othon worked for the interests of England, but he was always a member of Christendom, and his relationships with his papal, French, and Angevin opposite numbers show a cosmopolitanism that vanished within a hundred years of his death (1328). The very paucity of evidences, for all Othon's international importance and Mrs. Clifford's admirable researches, reminds us of the limitations that circumscribe medieval studies. Mrs. Clifford is forced to devote many more pages to the times than to the life of her subject in order

to give her book body. This historical narrative, however, is efficiently managed and lucidly unfolded.

Ohio University

PAUL MURRAY KENDALL

THE *CARTÆ ANTIQUÆ* ROLLS 11-20, PRINTED FROM THE ORIGINAL MSS. IN THE PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE. Edited by J. Conway Davies. [Publications of the Pipe Roll Society, Volume LXXI; New Series Volume XXXIII.] (London: the Society. 1960. Pp. xiv, 243. £2 2s.) The *Cartæ Antiquæ* rolls in the Public Record Office are composed of medieval transcripts of charters which are mainly royal grants of lands and liberties. They hold the greatest interest for institutional and diplomatic history, and since the seventeenth century scholars have used them almost exclusively. In 1939 the Pipe Roll Society published an edition of the first ten rolls. After a hiatus of twenty years a second volume is very welcome, and every student of medieval England will wish Dr. Conway Davies well in his task of editing the remainder of the series. A surprising number of the documents are unique copies: something over a third of the charters in this volume have never previously been published in full. A considerable number are reprinted here because the earlier editions are faulty or appeared in unofficial publications. The Pipe Roll Society is not an office of the British government, but it works closely with the Public Record Office, which has turned over to the society the publication of certain classes of records, including the *Cartæ Antiquæ*. Editors are human and, therefore, fallible, and one can find errors in this edition. But it makes the documents available for the use of scholars, who can then go to the manuscripts in person or through photography.

University of Connecticut

FRED A. CAZEL, JR.

TALLEYRAND: THE CARDINAL OF PÉRIGORD (1301-1364). By Norman P. Zacour. [Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, New Series, Volume L, Part 7.] (Philadelphia: the Society. 1960. Pp. 83. \$2.00.) The regret expressed by Monsignor Mollat, the historian of the Avignonesse papacy, that so little is known about the members of the papal *curia* of the fourteenth century, has led Norman Zacour to devote a careful study to the personality of Talleyrand, cardinal of Périgord (1301-1364). The range of the documentation is rather wide, including some letters of Petrarch, who made friends with the cardinal and enjoyed his protection. A member of a feudal family traditionally faithful to the French kings, Talleyrand owed his rapid promotion to their influence, which is known to have been powerful with the Avignonesse popes. But he was certainly a strong and able character and a well-trained lawyer. He soon rose to a prominent position in the college of cardinals. As papal nuncio, his mission to re-establish peace between the kings of France and England in 1356 was evidently a difficult task, the more so because his relatives all belonged to one party. Yet he gained sufficient credit and helped find the solution that was applied in the Treaty of Calais. His family interests entangled him in the intrigues and wars for the kingdom of Naples as well. Shortly before his death, he was selected as papal legate for the crusade. Thus his historical role was not negligible. And the well-balanced and sensible picture that Zacour draws of his figure will be a useful contribution to a sound judgment on the Avignonesse papacy.

Université de Toulouse

PHILIPPE WOLFF

Modern

UNITED KINGDOM AND IRELAND

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF THOMAS WHYTHORNE. Edited by James M.

Osborn. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1961. Pp. lxx, 328. \$7.20.) Students of social, cultural, and musical history may rejoice in the recent (1955) discovery and prompt editing of Thomas Whythorne's revelations and reflections. Long known but only lately esteemed as an important composer, this British "gentleman" left a document, written about 1576, that the editor calls "the first sustained autobiography, in the modern sense, in England." Typical of his age or not, Whythorne gives an authentic and intimate account of the Elizabethan scene in both country and town. Living from 1528 to 1596, he witnessed important developments and experienced the vicissitudes resulting therefrom. When offered a choice of vocation by his uncle (a priest), he chose music and organ playing, "the which be good qualities and be much esteemed in these days, and by them many men do live very well, and do come to preferment thereby." Literary apprenticeship soon followed, and the young man was launched on a long career of private tutoring and teaching that brought him in touch with the great and near great. Speculative and thoughtful, he would pen verses on the slightest provocation; indeed, this entire text might be called a confessional explaining the lines he had written after being disturbed, pleased, or inspired by personal happenings. He was addicted to epigrams and proverbs, he was wary of women, he was moralistic and religious, but he was not devoid of humor or good judgment. Consequently his life story has an attraction that equals its significance. Whythorne used an orthography of his own devising, and Osborn preserves this in the present edition. It is not difficult to read. In addition, Osborn supplies a long and enlightening introduction and a full set of indispensable footnotes. Thanks to his scholarship, zeal, and enthusiasm, we are given a novel product of the Elizabethan age that opens up a new perspective on a favorite period.

Washington, D. C.

EDWARD N. WATERS

ENGLISH RELIGIOUS DISSENT. By *Erik Routley*. [English Institutions.] (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1960. Pp. viii, 213. \$3.75.) This book is not a partisan presentation of Separatism, Independency, Presbyterianism, or Methodism. It is rather a justification of the principle of dissent and a glorification of English dissent as a national institution. Its contention is that "dissent" is no longer a scornful word, reminiscent of boors and dolts, but has become a respectable term. In 1937 a decision by Parliament to grant a salary to the leader of "His Majesty's Opposition" was a belated recognition of the political facts of life. History is a running commentary on the reforming spirit and the revolutionary temper. This temper was effectively checked in the period 1567-1593. The Presbyterian classis movement collapsed in 1590, and the Separatists were jailed, exiled, or hanged in 1593. But in the period 1593-1660 radical dissenters gained strong support from lawyers, merchants, and the House of Commons and therefore were able to defeat the King's forces in 1644-1645. The fatal division between Presbyterian reformers and revolutionary Independents weakened the Puritan cause, and by 1660 the "Good Old Cause" became a phrase of reproach. For the periods 1714-1789 and 1789-1892 there are two interesting and delightful chapters. Dissenters were busy establishing academies and meeting houses; Methodists were building charity schools and chapels; laymen were working through the Board of Dissenting Deputies; evangelicals were organizing missionary societies to make the world their parish. In the closing chapter Mr. Routley treats the ecumenical movement, which represents a dissent against disunity and paradoxically against some of the ideas that originated the dissenting denominations. Dissenters are learning to be neighborly, to put away their narrow prejudices, to take their rightful places in the field of scholarship, and to concentrate on their main task of fighting obscurantism and spiritual tyranny. There are a few minor mistakes and misprints: Thomas Greenwood should be John

Greenwood; the *Second Admonition* appeared in 1572; the Marprelate tracts were issued in 1588–1589; the *Epistle* was published in 1588, not 1558; Udall probably wrote *A Demonstration*, and it was published in 1588. This book is a well-written and an impartial presentation of English dissent. It provides the general reader with a thoughtful survey, supplementing the works of Henry Clark, Willis B. Glover, John W. Grant, G. F. Nuttall, and Albert Peel.

Southern California School of Theology

LELAND H. CARLSON

BURKE, DISRAELI, AND CHURCHILL: THE POLITICS OF PERSEVERANCE. By *Stephen R. Graubard*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1961. Pp. 262. \$5.00.) Dr. Graubard had the happy idea of reviving the long historical essay and in this book has carried it out with distinction. The three essays are agreeably written, and the reader is carried easily along by a blend of narrative and analysis informed by judgment, imagination, and good sense. The careers of Burke and Churchill are, of course, fairly well known, but many people will be grateful for Graubard's lively and balanced sketch of Disraeli, commemorated hitherto by a biographical monument and two popularizers. Graubard has no difficulty in finding certain common characteristics among his subjects: they share a quality of dissent and an aristocratic bias; they are romantics and at the same time historical-minded. Each is highly literate, writing abundantly and expressing himself, even in his speeches, in words directed more at the reader than the hearer. And each wrote to express not only his politics but his ambitions and his inmost ideas, whether in Burke's long speeches and treatises, Disraeli's novels, or Churchill's histories and his more strictly autobiographical works. None is an orthodox conservative, and Burke at least antedated the Conservative party. Here, however, the similarities end, for not only were there great differences between the times in which each lived, but Disraeli and Churchill attained the highest office (one in peace, one in war), Burke never. One suspects that Graubard chose them for the excellent reason that he wanted to write about them, and was perhaps most attracted to the study of Disraeli. To find two characters sharing Disraeli's ability while being always, like him, rather an outsider, he might better have chosen Shelbourne (one of Disraeli's heroes) and Amery. We should then have lacked, however, the excellent summaries of the writings of Burke and Churchill. For these, and even more for his discussion of Disraeli's novels and his demonstration of the ways in which they were intertwined with his political career, as indeed for this pleasant book as a whole, we are properly grateful.

University College of North Wales, Bangor

C. L. MOWAT

LONDON AND THE OUTBREAK OF THE PURITAN REVOLUTION: CITY GOVERNMENT AND NATIONAL POLITICS, 1625–43. By *Valerie Pearl*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1961. Pp. x, 364. \$6.75.) This excellent study of the government and politics of London in the years from 1625 to 1643 is an important contribution to our knowledge of the period. Developments in London during this time are not only of great interest in themselves; they also make possible a clearer understanding of the politics of the Long Parliament and of the origins of the Civil War. Mrs. Valerie Pearl has produced a competent, closely argued, and well-written book on a difficult subject. One of her central themes is that the loyalties and policies of the men who governed London cannot be identified with those of the citizens at large. The constitution of the city was less democratic than it appeared, and until the upsurge of what Mrs. Pearl calls the parliamentary Puritan party in 1641–1642, the city councils were controlled by the lord mayor and the Court of Aldermen. The aldermen were drawn from the wealthiest men in the city, from those merchant princes

who controlled the great companies. They had close ties with the crown, from which they derived many of their privileges; hence most of them were Royalist, and their views were shared by the majority of the Common Council. The parliamentary Puritan party in London was drawn from substantial citizens of the middle and upper middle rank and from the Puritan clergy. These citizens served as vestrymen in Puritan churches; they belonged to the Society of the Feoffees of Improvements; they drilled with the Honourable Artillery Company; they invested in Massachusetts Bay. Their weapons were the parliamentary petition, the popular demonstration, the pulpit, and the press. They turned shops and taverns into centers of political discussion, and they constructed a well-organized party machine that could rouse and yet control the rabble. Their first victory over the aldermen was their election in Common Hall of Puritan members for the Long Parliament. These members, ignoring the aldermanic bench, formed a link between Pym's party in Parliament and the Puritans in the city. By January 1642 the Puritans had captured the Common Council and had obtained control of the city government. Thenceforth the members of Parliament from London declined in importance, since the Puritans could speak through the city officials. Indeed, the radicalism of city members became an embarrassment to Pym, while the innate conservatism of municipal officials began to reassert itself. Mrs. Pearl's book contains a great mass of detail concerning the constitution and politics of London. This detail creates problems of organization. The book has been built around topics, which is perhaps the only way to organize it. But this arrangement forces the author to retrace her steps as she passes from topic to topic.

University of Minnesota

DAVID HARRIS WILLSON

TWO EARLY POLITICAL ASSOCIATIONS: THE QUAKERS AND THE DISSENTING DEPUTIES IN THE AGE OF SIR ROBERT WALPOLE. By N. C. Hunt. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1961. Pp. xvi, 231. \$4.80.) Though this volume incorporates much of the author's *Sir Robert Walpole, Samuel Holden and the Dissenting Deputies* (1957), it also contains more and little-studied material on the attempts of the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Nonconformists to obtain some amelioration of the penal laws under which they suffered. The first section is new and devotes six chapters to a detailed account of the political activity of the Quakers under the later Stuarts and early Hanoverians and of their methods of bringing pressure to bear on Parliament. The "Old Sects," Presbyterians, Congregationalists, and Baptists, in confessed imitation of the Society of Friends, developed an organization though they were tardier in their efforts. Under the leadership of Samuel Holden and Benjamin Avery the deputies tried to influence the government headed by Walpole, and met with very little success. Mr. Hunt examines the reasons for this failure, which are more complex than those which explain the very moderate achievement of the skillful Quaker efforts. The latter were chiefly worried about matters which so directly affected the established church that, when others were willing to meet Quaker proposals halfway, the clergy closed their ranks and defeated the project. Appendixes add to the usefulness of the book: county reports on tithe; the lobbying of members of Parliament, 1734-1735; resolutions of the Oxford and Buckinghamshire dissenters, 1732; a note on the *Craftsmen* and dissent; Holden's correspondence; biographical notes and a bibliography. The last overmodestly omits all mention of Hunt's earlier tract. This is a valuable contribution to the history of Nonconformity. The author is precise, judicious, and succinct and, incidentally, makes much clearer the character of those disabilities under which the sectaries lived. The subject of association has been neglected, and its importance is obvious. Yet it may be that the degree to which these two associations provide a pattern for the later political agitators of the nineteenth century can be exaggerated. There

had been propaganda campaigns in the country during the period of civil war and interregnum. During the reign of Charles II, there were, besides the Quaker, the agitations for dissolution in 1675-1676 and for exclusion in 1678-1681. In the eighteenth century the antislavery movement, the associations formed by Sir Christopher Wyvill and by Major John Cartwright, and the organization of the Feathers' Petition were equally unsuccessful at the time, but probably more influential in the future than the two associations dealt with by Hunt. To claim too much for their example in the nineteenth century, as the dust cover does, detracts somewhat from their real importance and from the author's excellent research into their history.

Bryn Mawr College

CAROLINE ROBBINS

CHARLES ELLIOT R. N., 1801-1875: A SERVANT OF BRITAIN OVERSEAS. By *Clagette Blake*. (London: Cleaver-Hume Press. 1960. Pp. xv, 130. 25s.) The public services of Admiral Sir Charles Elliot are here discussed against the political and economic backgrounds of his several posts. Having attained the rank of captain in the Royal Navy by 1828, Elliot became successively Protector of Slaves in British Guiana, superintendent of British trade in China, chargé d'affaires and consul general in the short-lived republic of Texas, and, in turn, governor of Bermuda, Trinidad, and St. Helena. His personal life in this study is submerged in the factual data of official records. From this evidence, particularly the Colonial and Foreign Office papers, he is presented as a typical agent of Queen Victoria's expanding empire—a humanitarian, a free trader, a courageous patriot, burdened with responsibilities in grim and lonely situations, forced to act without sufficient instructions from London, and faced with the local opposition of predatory British subjects. He knew both success and failure: success as adviser to the Imperial Government on the abolition of slavery, on the Open Door policy in China, and on Britain's acquisition of Hong Kong; failure in his Convention of Chuenpee and his support of an independent Texan republic. As biography and imperial history this account of Elliot's career has episodic interest.

Washington, D. C.

GRACE FOX

MODERN BRITAIN, 1885-1955. By *Henry Pelling*. [A History of England, Volume VIII.] (Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson and Sons. 1960. Pp. xii, 212. 18s.) In less than two hundred pages the author covers seventy crowded years of recent British history, including not only political and military history but also constitutional, social, and cultural. Although on this scale events such as the Saloniki "sideshow" in one great war and the Norwegian campaign in the other each receive one vague sentence, there is, nevertheless, something on such topics as the popular press, the cinema, broadcasting, the "new woman" of the nineties, and the "new look" of the late forties. Two major themes emerge. One is the great importance of foreign affairs in this period when external difficulties compelled Great Britain to find its place in a world in which it was no longer secure and unchallenged as the greatest power; hence each chapter deals with foreign relations and their political and economic repercussions. In this readjustment the United States figures prominently. The other major theme is that of political and social conflict at home; it was an era of social politics, of attack on poverty, and of progress toward greater social equality. The survey impresses one with the political maturity of the British who have dealt successfully with so many problems and, except in the case of Ireland, done it peacefully. The narrative is lucid, and those who lived through those stirring times will find much vividly recalled. At the same time the author preserves his objectivity; he is dispassionate in his account of the General Strike, the cabinet crisis of 1931, the unrealistic attitude of the Labour party toward rearmament in the 1930's, and the work of the Attlee government. One statement is

a reminder of how long it takes to destroy a legend; it is repeated that in the 1939 negotiations with Russia, Britain, apparently dragging its feet, sent only a minor official to Moscow as its representative. It was, in fact, the ambassador who was entrusted with the negotiations, and William Strang of the Foreign Office was sent solely to advise him.

Stanford University

CARL F. BRAND

H. G. WELLS AND THE WORLD STATE. By *W. Warren Wagar*. [Yale Historical Publications, Miscellany 75.] (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1961. Pp. x, 301. \$6.00.) As I was reading through this interesting dissertation, my sixteen-year-old son walked into my study with a paper-bound copy of *The Time Machine* he had just purchased. Evidently some part of Wells's work is still read despite the verdict of the literary critics and scholarly analysts that he is old-fashioned and outmoded. Wagar's book, nonetheless, is a sophisticated discussion of Wells's tumbling torrent of ideas on nature and education, utopia and world revolution. It makes the obvious, but revealing, comparison of Wells with the eighteenth-century philosophes, but then centers its attention on his role as the prophet of a new world society. Wagar is successful in demolishing two of the more superficial myths about Wells. He was not a characteristic nineteenth-century believer in inevitable progress, and he was not so enamored of science as to regard it as a morally benevolent force. The deep pessimism of his later years, which on the surface appeared so different from his earlier ebullient optimism, had roots in decades of "warning and urging and prophesying." There are no illusions here about the limitations of Wells's program or the superficiality of his view of the nature of man. But Wagar makes a strong case for his conclusion that Wells's prophetic career was a kind of bridge of ideas between the outlook of nineteenth-century Western civilization and that of whatever world society may develop in the future. He occasionally lets his subject run away with him. To say, for example, that Wells, as much as any man, prepared the climate of opinion in Britain and America for a league of nations is to attribute an influence to him that the evidence hardly bears out. And in a sense, this kind of statement illustrates the one flaw in an otherwise excellent book. Like so many studies in intellectual history, it makes its obeisances to the environment in which ideas have developed, yet somehow manages to divorce them from their times. Wells, more than many prophets, can hardly be understood without the most meticulous attention to the traditional "life and times." In any event, despite this stricture, Wagar's volume will help bring into focus a most mercurial, infuriating, and altogether fascinating figure in the history of recent social thought.

Rutgers University

HENRY R. WINKLER

CHARLES BOOTH: SOCIAL SCIENTIST. By *T. S. and M. B. Simey*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1960. Pp. x, 282. \$4.80.) What we have hitherto known about Charles Booth has come mainly from Mrs. Booth's brief memoir of her husband, from Beatrice Webb's *My Apprenticeship*, and, of course, from *Life and Labour of the People in London*. To these sources Professor and Mrs. Simey have now added the private correspondence of the Booth family, the records of the firm of Alfred Booth and Company in which Charles Booth was a partner, the Passfield manuscripts, and other related material. From this enlarged background Booth emerges as even more remarkable than the man who has long inspired students of social welfare. His biographers introduce him in the warm, affectional setting of his family, showing his wife's stimulating influence upon his thinking. Frequently suffering from ill health, he was nevertheless successful in business, both as promoter and as administrator. The Simeys show him at thirty-eight years of age, in the full swing of his business career, incorporating a new line of activity. He began to formulate and ask with growing curiosity and con-

cern: Who are the poor? What are they like? How many of them are there? Without reducing his activities in Booth and Company, he organized, supervised, and personally engaged in the famous survey which answered these questions. The greater part of this book is devoted to a description, analysis, and evaluation of this survey without, however, losing sight of the man and his developing ideas. Basically opposed to socialism, Booth arrived at "a limited socialism" as the best preventive of a total socialism, and advocated old-age pensions. Discussing Booth as a social scientist, the Simeys say: "He has come to be regarded as a superlatively successful statistician with an interest in social welfare . . . Booth was, in fact, a great sociologist rather than a great statistician, even though the standard text books of sociology give him virtually no mention at all." But was he not rather a social worker? He combined the practical and the ideal. He was an "operator" and an administrator with a drive toward the solution of social problems. He had a feeling for the poor and an urge toward social action. He appreciated the abstract, but was quick to translate it into immediate next steps. Teachers of social welfare will find in this biography a fascinating personality, a valuable historical resource, and an illuminating book to recommend to their students.

Washington, D. C.

KARL DE SCHWEINITZ

H. M. HYNDMAN AND BRITISH SOCIALISM. By *Chushichi Tsuzuki*. Edited by *Henry Pelling*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1961. Pp. vi, 304. \$5.60.) Until the publication of this work, Henry Hyndman was his own chief biographer. In *The Record of an Adventurous Life* (1911), he showed himself a man of inordinate energy, whose immodesty and bravado involved him in constant feuds with his Socialist colleagues. While standard texts invariably carried some reference to his efforts to introduce Marxism in Britain, these accounts rarely went beyond repeating the story of how Engels and others resented Hyndman's appropriation of Marxist doctrine without the master's name being so much as mentioned in *England for All*, published in 1881. While Hyndman's differences with others frequently involved points of Socialist doctrine, the quarrels reflected also the collisions of strong personalities. Dr. Tsuzuki's dispassionate and thorough biography of the middle-class Victorian who was at once the founder of the Social Democratic Federation and the cause of many of its divisions is a definitive work. For the reader who wishes to trace Hyndman's relations with William Morris or who seeks information on how Hyndman managed to become so violently prowar after 1914, this volume provides all the data that can possibly be desired. On the Social Democratic Federation itself, which enjoyed a membership of some ten thousand in the 1890's, but never again attained such strength in the twentieth century, this is a useful volume. If the work has any shortcoming, it is that it leaves unanswered the fundamental question of why Marxism made so little progress in Britain in the periods of industrial and economic distress which preceded the First World War. By concentrating so exclusively on the man, the author has perhaps neglected the doctrine that he sought to propagate. It is just possible that Marxism would have had even less success in Britain if so forceful a character had not been its chief exponent.

Harvard University

STEPHEN R. GRAUBARD

THE RELIGIOUS ISSUE IN THE STATE SCHOOLS OF ENGLAND AND WALES, 1902-1914: A NATION'S QUEST FOR HUMAN DIGNITY. By *Benjamin Sacks*. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 1961. Pp. ix, 292. \$5.00.) This is a thorough and useful study of an important topic. After a rather portentous beginning the author settles down to a painstaking examination of the position of all parties concerned with the issue of religious instruction in English and Welsh state schools

during the opening years of this century. The Balfour Act of 1902 appalled the non-conformists since it seemed to perpetuate the dual system of education established by the Act of 1870. Lloyd George pictured the Church of England schools as twelve thousand mission rooms where three million children were taught how to bow to parsons and curates. Why should nonconformists pay an education rate to maintain these schools? And so there was resistance, "passive" and otherwise. Anglicans, meanwhile, deplored the failure of the 1902 Act to repeal the Cowper-Temple clause since this meant that great numbers of Church children in Council Schools could not be taught the catechism or formularies of the Church of England. When the Liberals were swept into office in 1906, they were committed to a policy of redressing non-conformist grievances. But the various bills proposed foundered partly because denominationalists for some of the period could still feel themselves protected by the House of Lords veto. And the outbreak of the First World War put an end, for the time being, to further efforts. Having told this story in the first section of his book, Professor Sacks proceeds to examine in detail the views held by Anglicans, nonconformists, secularists, Roman Catholics, and Jews on the question of religious education in state schools. For the student of social history, as well as for the ironist, this is the most interesting part of the book. For while everyone was firmly persuaded of the importance of inculcating morality upon the youth of England, there were considerable differences about the ways and means of doing so, and, of course, about the definition of morality itself. These pages should please the followers of Vilfredo Pareto. In the third part of the book the author is concerned with what he calls the "Search for a Concordat" which took place during this period, conceived either in terms of a national system with universal facilities or a system of general religious instruction. Neither Roman Catholics nor secularists welcomed such a solution. Nor could Anglicans and nonconformists reach major agreement. Sacks carries the story to the Education Act of 1944 which finally saw a compromise between the Church of England and the Free Churches over religious instruction. But old passions die hard, and this may not be the end of the story.

University of Chicago

JOHN CLIVE

BRITAIN'S IMPERIAL AIR ROUTES 1918 TO 1939: THE STORY OF BRITAIN'S OVERSEAS AIRLINES. By *Robin Higham*. (London: G. T. Foulis and Company. 1960. Pp. 407. 42s.) The title is somewhat misleading, for the routes are not as important as the fortunes and misfortunes of British overseas air services between the First and Second World Wars. In 1918 the knowledge of flight gained in war was transferred to passenger and mail services. At first such weak and unsubsidized cross-Channel carriers as Daimler Hire, Instone, Handley Page, AT&T (Aircraft Transport & Travel) struggled on until 1924. The survivors were then combined as Imperial Airways and heavily subsidized. Earlier, in 1920, even Mr. Churchill had been curiously unprophetic when he said "Civil aviation must fly by itself." Imperial Airways had Woods Humphery as managing director. He was largely responsible for EAMS (Empire Air Mail Scheme) of 1932 that Imperial Airways developed along routes south through Africa and east through India to Singapore and Australia. The author treats only casually the airmail side of this system. By the late thirties the desire for a government "instrument" led to the combination of Imperial Airways and a rival, British (European) Airways, into the familiar BOAC. The charges and countercharges that brought this change are fully and frankly appraised. The narrative suffers somewhat from excessive detail and the free use of alphabetic titles that may be unfamiliar and confusing, for example, QEA, GAPAN, DLH, BALPA, TEA (usually TEAL). A guidance table or full titles would help the reader. Mr. Higham's pioneer study is lavishly documented

and has an exhaustive bibliography that will serve any other investigators in this field. The author intends to treat separately the British airship program. As the lighter-than-air machines, such as R-100, R-101, were originally intended as mainline carriers for which the heavier-than-air planes would serve as feeders on branch lines, it would seem better to treat the two types together. We are very grateful for Higham's narrative, bibliography, numerous tables, and interesting illustrations.

Oberlin College

HOWARD ROBINSON

THE BRITISH LEFT WING AND FOREIGN POLICY: A STUDY OF THE INFLUENCE OF IDEOLOGY. By *Eugene J. Meehan*. (New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press. 1960. Pp. xv, 201. \$5.00.) In the Left wing's unsparing critique of British diplomacy from 1944 to 1951, three traits impressed Meehan: dogmatic repetition of outmoded ideological stereotypes; blindness to Communist aggression, the plainest fact of the era; rejection of the counterstrategy that reality dictated. The explanation, he concluded, could be stated as the general law that ideology by its nature blinds partisans to facts, hardening thought into rigid dogmatism. To test that hypothesis and to clarify the principles linking ideology and international affairs are praiseworthy aims. Yet the study left me unsatisfied. Meehan's basic premise affirms the essence of ideology to be a commitment to absolutes as opposed to a pragmatic openness to new data. Ideologies, he adds, foster bloc behavior, authoritarianism, and empty symbolism. These premises do not fit Britain's individualistic Left-wing elite. Indeed, despite paraphrases and omissions, greater diversity of leftist thought is revealed than the premises indicate. The description of Left-wing thought as an aberration requires, above all, description of the standard from which they strayed. Deviations must be shown to be such. Government diplomacy must be proved the true and only measure of rationality, with an exclusive claim to foundation in fact; otherwise, "aberrations" become explicable on intelligent grounds, and the hypothesis collapses. But the soundness of government diplomacy is assumed, not proved. Nor are factual rationales for Left-wing views proved impossible. Perhaps they reflected, not just old ideology, but farsighted anxiety lest the cold war destroy the world. We are left in doubt. To many historians, the dogmatism and danger of Left-wing proposals seem plain, as obvious as that ideologies often betray ideologues into absurdity. The question is whether these judgments represent demonstrated scientific law or the sage commentaries of prudence.

Roosevelt University

PAUL BARTON JOHNSON

HISTORY OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR (United Kingdom Military Series). Edited by *Sir James Butler*. THE MEDITERRANEAN AND MIDDLE EAST. Volume III (SEPTEMBER 1941 TO SEPTEMBER 1942), BRITISH FORTUNES REACH THEIR LOWEST EBB. By *I. S. O. Playfair et al.* (London: H. M. Stationery Office; distrib. by British Information Services, New York. 1960. Pp. xix, 482. \$9.29 postpaid.) The year covered by this volume tested British resilience under severe setbacks. At the outset, forces under Auchinleck were preparing to drive Rommel's troops from the borders of Egypt, to lift his siege of Tobruk, and then to clear the enemy from Cyrenaica. At the end, under Alexander, they were again mounting an offensive in Egypt to expel the enemy from his positions even nearer the Nile. Repeated defeats during the spring and summer had canceled the exhausting British victories of the preceding months. The seesaw of the ground and air forces across the western desert was demonstrated to be no index of success. The depth of any incomplete penetration could actually be an index of vulnerability. Continuing availability of replacements, reinforcements, and supplies was then controlling. Mastery of the sea routes to deliver them was the key to solid triumph. Relevance of air strength to that mastery appears repeatedly in

the context of this volume. The many diverse elements of the total situation are treated with commendable balance. Their range extends from high politics, grand strategy, and global logistics to organization, command, ordnance and other equipment, and the interdependence of ground, sea, and air services. These topics are covered with respect to the two opposing sides. If one must look elsewhere for detailed accounts of the tactics actually employed in specific situations by identified units, here one finds the underlying conditions and consequences. The forty tipped-in maps, the uncluttered footnotes, and the data condensed in appended notes and tables reinforce a flowing narrative. When the fortunes of war fluctuate as they did in Africa, many command decisions lack the vindication of subsequent success. Rommel survived many such decisions, including that which culminated in his defeats in Egypt. Two commanders in chief of the British Eighth Army under Auchinleck, and Auchinleck himself, did not fare so well. The volume tries to give perspective on the considerations that applied and to leave explicit verdicts to the reader. One is inclined to applaud arrangements by which such destructive warfare was staged in a desert instead of in areas of dense population, fertile fields, and forests.

Washington, D. C.

GEORGE F. HOWE

TRADE UNIONS AND THE LABOUR PARTY SINCE 1945. By *Martin Harrison*. (Detroit, Mich.: Wayne State University Press. 1960. Pp. 360. \$4.95.) We have had in the last few years several studies on the history and development of the Labour party and on the trade-unions. Nuffield College has been rather close to this, and it should not be surprising that a member of its staff has now given us a good study on the linkage between the party and the unions. The subject is of foremost importance, for the relationship is the most significant to be found in British politics, and much needs to be explained if it is to be understood. Approximately one-fifth to one-fourth of the trade-unionists vote either Liberal or Conservative. The manner in which the remainder influence Labour politics or take part in the formulation of policy is the main concern of this book. Those who are familiar with descriptions of the management of the unions and the participation of members in this will be quite prepared to be told that the bulk of union members take little direct interest in politics and play no discernible part in political life. The mass weight of organization, however, is important, and this makes itself felt in several ways. One of the best-known is the political levy, and this receives close attention. Harrison concludes, despite the difficulty of interpreting statistical material, that the return of contracting-in was worth two million additional levies to the party. Union support since the war has contributed about two thirds of the party's financial funds. The impact of much of this on the formulation of policy is developed through short sketches of some half-dozen unions. For those who have some knowledge of the subject, this book will add detailed information and carefully considered conclusions. There is not a great deal that is new but much that is brought into sharper definition and clearer comprehension.

University of North Carolina

JAMES L. GODFREY

GUINNESS'S BREWRY IN THE IRISH ECONOMY, 1759-1876. By *Patrick Lynch* and *John Vaizey*. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1960. Pp. viii, 278. \$7.00.) To many people the name Guinness and the Irish brewing industry are synonymous. This has not always been the case. In the eighteenth century Guinness' was only one of several small Irish brewers struggling to compete with better established English breweries. The authors trace Guinness' history from its beginning in 1759 until it became the best-established and most prosperous company in Ireland in 1876. The brewing industry is described against a background of political, social, and economic developments. Legis-

lation that lowered taxes on beer and suppressed illicit distilleries while raising import duties on British beer helped to put the Irish industry on a firm footing. From 1797 to 1814 a wartime boom led to general expansion of trade in coastal Ireland, and the brewing industry flourished. Then came a period of depression from 1815 to 1821, and Guinness' was almost destroyed. The authors have related the development of Guinness' brewery to Ireland's maritime and subsistence economies by covering the potato famine and steamship transportation to Britain. Sufficient information is given on the general Irish economic development without losing sight of the principal industry that is being discussed. The book is more than this; it develops the role of the different members of the Guinness family in business, banking, politics, and religion. The internal organizational problems, the establishment of agents in Ireland and England as salesmen, and the inclusion of capable brewers in the firm are not overlooked. Family records, in addition to other manuscript material, form the basis for this unbiased and worthwhile addition to Irish economic history.

Arlington, Virginia

HOMER L. CALKIN

EUROPE

RUSSLAND, EUROPA UND DER DEUTSCHE OSTEN. By *Lolo Krusius-Ahrenberg et al.* [Beiträge zur europäischen Geschichte, Number 2.] (Munich: R. Oldenbourg Verlag. 1960. Pp. 184. DM 9.80.) This work suffers from a misleading title and a debatable purpose. It is a collection of six articles, all recently published in the *Historische Zeitschrift*. As articles they are, for the most part, competent and provocative interpretive essays. An introductory note states that the objective of this collection is to present a continuous theme, unobtainable when the articles are scattered throughout several issues of a journal. The theme claimed for this sparse collection is excessively broad: Russia, Germany, and interjacent Eastern Europe. How well do these six essays fit the theme? The first discusses the German eastward movement prior to the thirteenth century. It emphasizes the peaceful nature of that movement in an attempt to discredit the popular notion of *Drang nach Osten*. The second is a study of Russian involvement in the European scene before Peter the Great, while the third concerns the changing form of Russian imperialism from about 1700 to 1914. The next one discusses the attitude of Peter the Great toward religion and the Church, followed by an informative study of Finnish separatism in the nineteenth century. The last essay discusses Bismarck's attitude toward Russia in the 1880's. Failing to attain any continuity of theme, this work is of doubtful value. Its publication raises a more fundamental question. Should articles be assembled and presented anew to the profession in this form? Does the argument for continuity justify such repetitious publication?

Stanislaus State College

DAVID B. STENZEL

DIE EMSER DEPESCHE. Edited by *Ernst Walder*. [Quellen zur neueren Geschichte, Numbers 27, 28, 29.] (Bern: Verlag Herbert Lang & Cie. 1959. Pp. 188. 9.80 fr. S.) Ernst Walder's book, published under the auspices of the Historical Seminar of the University of Bern, is a very useful addition to the literature on the Franco-Prussian War. The first, and most important, section of the book offers a meticulous edition of the various texts of the Ems telegram. For the sake of clarity, Walder organized the texts into two groups. The first, referred to as the *Depesche aus Ems*, contains the text of Abeken's message, with annotations indicating departures from the original draft, and the decoded version placed before Bismarck in Berlin. The second group, the *Emser Depesche*, contains the texts of the revised version, communicated to foreign governments and to the press. The almost traditional parallel printing of the two versions

complements this aspect of Walder's work. The remaining sections of the book offer the historical framework. For this purpose the author used the reports of those intimately associated with events in Ems on July 13, the documents pertaining to Bismarck's diplomatic actions in Berlin on that day, and the Chancellor's own commentaries on the revision of Abeken's telegram. A section containing subsequent official French and Prussian references to the telegram, up to the outbreak of war, and a select bibliography complete this commendable contribution.

Alexandria, Virginia

WILLARD ALLEN FLETCHER

DIE MINDERHEITENFRAGE UND DIE ENTSTEHUNG DER MINDERHEIT-ENSCHUTZVERTRÄGE AUF DER PARISER FRIEDENSKONFERENZ 1919: EINE STUDIE ZUR GESCHICHTE DES NATIONALITÄTENPROBLEMS IM 19. UND 20. JAHRHUNDERT. By *Erwin Viefhaus*. [Marburger Ostforschungen im Auftrage des Johann Gottfried Herder-Forschungsrates e. V., Number 11.] (Würzburg: Holzner-Verlag. 1960. Pp. xv, 244. DM 24.) Written originally as a doctoral dissertation at the University of Cologne, this monograph reflects the rising German interest in minority problems and more specifically in minority protection. The tone of the book is set by an apt prefatory quotation from Lord Acton: "The coexistence of several nations under the same State is a test, as well as the best security of its freedom. It is also one of the chief instruments of civilisation; and as such, it is in the natural and providential order, and indicates a state of greater advancement than the national unity which is the ideal of modern liberalism. . . ." Dr. Viefhaus presents a detailed study of the minority treaties formulated at the peace conference of 1919 and their later effects on the resurrected and newly born states in East Central Europe. He traces chronologically the impact of the idea of self-determination and the influence of Jewish and other minority leaders both in the United States and Europe on the American delegation. With careful diligence he examines and analyzes the various factors and the separate phases of the negotiations at Paris. The author has used relevant sources, past and recent, published in the West. The book is a significant addition to the vast literature on national minorities. Its real contribution lies in its offering, perhaps for the first time, of a comprehensive and scholarly analysis in the German language of a subject either neglected or distorted during the Nazi period in Germany.

University of Connecticut

LOUIS L. GERSON

THE DIPLOMACY OF THE WINTER WAR: AN ACCOUNT OF THE RUSSO-FINNISH WAR, 1939-1940. By *Max Jakobson*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1961. Pp. 281. \$5.75.) The Winter War has an unrivaled niche in Finnish history. "Not until December, 1939," nostalgically recalled a leading journal recently, "was the world awakened. Ah, what a New Greece! Sympathy and newspaper stories. Mannerheim and Sillanpää, A. I. Virtanen and Väinö Linna stepped into places once occupied by polar bears and eskimos." A well-known historian observed, "Never before in her history and probably never again will Finland have such a prominent role in world politics as in 1939-40." Conditions have changed. Today Finland stands again in the shadows of political and cultural obscurity. It is thus good to have an opportunity of reliving the exciting epoch of the Winter War in Max Jakobson's superlative account. A Finnish reviewer has praised it as "masterful in style." This estimate need not be challenged. *The Diplomacy of the Winter War* rings out with narrative power; it catches the tension and anguish of decision making not alone in Helsinki but in Stockholm, Berlin, Paris, and London (we can only surmise about Moscow); the story is enriched throughout by judicious humor and insightful irony. Jakobson is, however, more than a literary artist. Although a diplomat-journalist by profession, he is completely at home in

the field of diplomatic history. His wide acquaintance with the literature has enabled him to trace brilliantly the course of Finnish diplomacy against the background of great-power politics, carefully avoiding the danger of being merely an apologist for the official policy of the government or of becoming a Monday morning quarterback who finds it easy to insinuate how Finnish foreign policy ought to have been conducted. Jakobson's account is eminently fair and dispassionate; its major conclusions have not been altered by the steady stream of new materials appearing since 1955 when Jakobson's study first appeared in Finnish. The Winter War, as Jakobson points out, was followed by the Continuation War in which Finnish-German cobelligerency raised a number of moral and political issues. It might be noted here that a detailed study, "Finland and Operation Barbarossa," by the distinguished historian Arvi Korhonen will be published in the near future. It took six years to get an English version of Jakobson's valuable contribution. Is it too much to hope that Korhonen's great work will be translated in less time?

Heidelberg College

JOHN I. KOLEHMAINEN

GUIDE TO JEWISH HISTORY UNDER NAZI IMPACT. By *Jacob Robinson* and *Philip Friedman*. Forewords by *Benzion Dinur* and *Salo W. Baron*. [Yad Washem Martyrs' and Heroes' Memorial Authority, Jerusalem; Yivo Institute for Jewish Research, New York. Joint Documentary Projects, Bibliographical Series Number 1.] (New York: [the Institute.] 1960. Pp. xxxi, 425. \$15.00.) This guide is a major contribution to the facilitation of research into twentieth-century history. Not only is the explicit subject of the volume covered exhaustively, but detailed and reliable information is provided on other matters. Since anyone concerned with the specifically Jewish aspect of the recent past will certainly turn to this book, the space available here will be used to indicate other topics covered. These include: modern Germany, National Socialism, World War II, German occupation of parts of Europe and resistance movements, European war crimes trials, and many institutions established by the Germans or by others to study German problems (activities, publications, archives). There are detailed indexes, though publications of institutions are often listed by author without cross reference to the sponsor. The book belongs in all research libraries.

University of Michigan

GERHARD L. WEINBERG

LA MONARCHIE DE FRANCE ET DEUX AUTRES FRAGMENTS POLITIQUES. By *Claude de Seyssel*. Edited by *Jacques Poujol*. [Bibliothèque Elzévirienne, New Series, Études et Documents.] (Paris: Librairie d'Argences. 1961. Pp. 253.) Professor Poujol has rendered students of the Renaissance an invaluable service in preparing a critical edition based on the manuscript of this important early sixteenth-century political treatise (entitled *La Grant Monarchie de France* by its first printer), heretofore available only in defective and rarely accessible sixteenth-century editions. The views of the Savoyard humanist, jurist, counselor of Louis XII, *parlementaire*, later bishop of Marseille, now may gain the attention they deserve. Consistently practical, Seyssel is frequently original, as in discussing French social orders and social mobility. A "constitutionalist," his advice on royal councils might nevertheless have served Louis XIV. The edition includes his *Exorde en la translation de l'histoire de Justin*, his *Prohème en la translation de l'histoire d'Appien*, a short biography of Seyssel, an analysis of his ideas, and a glossary.

Stanford University

FREDRIC CHEYETTE

CAHIERS DE DOLÉANCES DU TIERS ÉTAT DU BAILLIAGE DE ROUEN. Volume II. By *Marc Bouloiseau*. [Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire éco-

nomique de la Révolution française.] (Rouen: Imprimerie administrative de la Seine-Maritime. 1960. Pp. 508.) *CAHIERS DE DOLÉANCES DU TIERS ÉTAT DE LA SÉNÉCHAUSSEE DE CHÂTEAU-DU-LOIR POUR LES ÉTATS GÉNÉRAUX DE 1789*. By *Paul Bois*. [Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire économique de la Révolution française.] (Gap: Imprimerie Louis-Jean. 1960. Pp. lviii, 83.) Volume I of Bouloiseau's edition of the *cahiers* of Rouen (see *AHR*, LXIII [Oct. 1957], 109.) contained an extensive introduction and the texts of the guild and town *cahiers*. Volume II now provides the *cahiers* of the suburbs and immediate rural area of this important Norman urban district. Volumes for the secondary districts and the final grand *bailliage* elections will follow. The publication by Paul Bois, as a supplementary thesis to his impressive principal thesis of the *cahiers* of Château-du-Loir, a rural district secondary to Le Mans in western France, raises some interesting similarities and contrasts between the two areas on the eve of the French Revolution. Both authors provide excellent introductions. Bouloiseau credits the *cahiers* of Rouen as being more objective, with evidence of actual conditions, than Bois, who points out the contradiction between tax records and a complaint in a *cahier*. Bois assigns more subjective value to the *cahiers* as a true reflection of electoral opinion than Bouloiseau, who found election pamphlets more influential than Bois. In both collections, one can find *cahiers* expressing only local demands and the self-interest of the group composing them, and others influenced by the eighteenth-century Enlightenment and national concerns. Both authors noted the general moderation of the *cahiers*: reform was requested, not revolution. Complaint against town officials and some sentiment against the rich were expressed. This was less against the nobility than against the wealthy in the town—commercial and industrial capitalists in the Rouen *cahiers*, and town owners of rural property in Château-du-Loir. In both areas, the successive steps in the electoral process eliminated the demands of the peasants and led to the election of urban deputies to the Estates General. Bouloiseau observed that the *cahiers* of Rouen did not convey demands of a fourth class—the lower urban, suburban, and rural inhabitants, and Bois found that the demands of the numerous hemp workers were not voiced at Château-du-Loir. Both volumes attest a renewed recognition of the value of the *cahiers de doléances* as sources of opinion in 1789.
Hunter College BEATRICE F. HYSLOP

LAVOISIER ET LA RÉVOLUTION FRANÇAISE. Volume II, *LE JOURNAL DE FOUGEROUX DE BONDAROY*. By *Lucien Scheler*. Edited with the collaboration of *W. A. Smeaton*. (Paris: Hermann. [1960.] Pp. 222.) Despite the apologies the editor presents for his title, he can hardly be excused for labeling an annotated edition of a Parisian savant's journal for six weeks of 1789 as if it were a study of Lavoisier. Fougereux and Lavoisier, it is true, were fellow members of the academy and, in 1789, fellow officials of a district in Paris. But the journal gives no more glimpses of Lavoisier than it does, for example, of Lafayette. Its real value is in the firsthand recording of events in the vicinity of the Bastille during the frenetic months of July and August 1789. All the better for its bland style, the journal portrays the turbulence of the city in those days and the anxiety that turbulence produced among many of the city's substantial but moderate revolutionaries.
University of Delaware CHARLES TILLY

HÉBERT: *LE PÈRE DUCHESNE, CHEF DES SANS-CULOTTES*. By *Louis Jacob*. [Leurs figures.] (Paris: Gallimard. 1960. Pp. 364. 12.50 new fr.) Père Duchesne was, to the readers of Hébert's newspaper, a ferocious plebeian stove merchant, a rude patriot whose "great angers" and "great joys" they relished. Père Duchesne was, like Guignol, a righter of wrongs. Taken by Hébert from popular tradition, he spoke the

language of the underprivileged, profane, and sometimes obscene. It would be interesting to know how many readers suspected that this effect was contrived. Hébert was of middle-class origin, genteel manners, and good education. While preparing for the law, he had stumbled into a lawsuit that ruined his chances. He had remained down on his luck in Paris for most of the decade that ended in the Revolution, and then his journalistic flair had made him, according to the late Louis Jacob, "leader of the *sans-culottes*." How much of a leader was he, and for how long? Hébert has not been greatly honored by historians either as a leader or as a social theorist. Jacob, after a thorough search of the archives and a careful reading of the *Père Duchesne*, concludes that Hébert was less of a chameleon than Braesch said, and more of a sincere and coherent social reformer than Mathiez said. Jacob clears up some biographical points and reviews Hébert's successive postures as a journalist and to a lesser extent as a club member and city official. Hébert was admittedly more talker than doer. The charges against him in 1794 were absurd, and his trial was "political," but even if the Hébertist drive was only verbal, what was it trying to accomplish politically? Jacob's sources apparently do not answer this question. The author's sympathies are with Hébert and the *sans-culottes*, and indeed he makes little distinction between Hébert's views, those of the *sans-culottes*, and the general welfare. The case against popular interference with the Convention in 1793 and 1794 is not presented, neither are the differences in objectives which, according to Albert Soboul, made the mountain and the *sans-culottes* incompatible. Jacob's book lacks some of the general perspectives that are needed to explain the significance of Hébert's role. Its evidence, moreover, does not leave one with the conviction that Hébert was a man of stature. One gets used to the presence of a brave man of good will, but it is *Père Duchesne*. Behind him there is someone with talent, but this figure remains shadowy, no doubt because of gaps in the archives but perhaps also because he did not measure up to his creation.

Swarthmore College

PAUL H. BEIK

THE ANATOMY OF GLORY. NAPOLEON AND HIS GUARD: A STUDY IN LEADERSHIP. By *Henry Lachouque*. Adapted from the French by *Anne S. K. Brown*. (Providence, R. I.: Brown University Press. 1961. Pp. xviii, 564. \$14.00.) This book is the curious example of a translation that is superior to the original. In 1957 Henry Lachouque, a noted military historian, published a bulky, drab-appearing volume of 1,114 pages entitled *Napoléon et la Garde Impériale*. He had read widely in soldier memoirs, Napoleon's printed correspondence, and the archives of the Historical Service of the French Army, and had apparently taken a note whenever the Guard was mentioned. He then presented the results of his researches in a fatiguing, staccato narrative of virtually unrelated details about the Guard's changing uniforms, successive organizations, and participation in marches, battles, and garrison duties. A collector of legendary reputation, Lachouque illustrated the work with 101 useful contemporary prints, reproduced in black and white. In a free, vivid translation Anne Brown has tempered the staccato style and judiciously eliminated many nonessential names and details. A noted collector of military prints in her own right, she tripled the number of contemporary illustrations. Brown University Press, by reproducing ninety of these in brilliant color and printing the text in type and paper of excellent quality, has rendered the translation a splendid example of the bookmaker's art. In a brilliant preface, Mrs. Brown demonstrates her understanding of the Guard's functions (to serve at all times as a model to the rest of the army and to perform as a precious reserve in campaign and battle), and she raises the right questions. Not even a translator's brilliance, however, can overcome the basic flaw of the original narrative: the drowning of the important in a flood of details. From this volume the historian will gain little understanding of the evolution of the Guard

as an institution and of the development of Napoleon's policies with respect to its organization and use. Most of the major campaigns and battles are so murky presented that one cannot comprehend the place of the Guard in them. While the book will be useful as a mine of facts and may become even celebrated as a collector's item, it cannot be regarded as a satisfactory history of the Imperial Guard.

Duke University

HAROLD T. PARKER

JOURNAL, 1846-1869. Volume I, 1846-1860. By *Émile Ollivier*. Text chosen and annotated by *Theodore Zeldin* and *Anne Troisier de Diaz*. Preface by *Raymond Dumay*. (Paris: René Julliard. 1961. Pp. xli, 474. 19.50 new fr.) When *Émile Ollivier* began his diary, in 1846, he was twenty-one years old, the member of a rather obscure republican family. By 1860 he was among the leaders of the opposition to the Empire. The publication of this first volume of his diary offers a documentation heretofore lacking for these years of Ollivier's rise to prominence. The diary here presented is intelligently abridged from the original and is briefly annotated. Further, Mr. Zeldin and his collaborator have supplemented the diary, particularly at crucial points in Ollivier's career, with letters and other material, thus constructing a detailed picture of Ollivier's activities and outlook. Mr. Dumay's preface is a laudatory, stimulating description of Ollivier and his career. The diary itself is, quite properly, a highly personal document. Ollivier was often more concerned with recording his state of mind than in discussing his daily activities. But the outside world is amply reflected in discussions of trends of the times, of Ollivier's contacts with numerous and prominent friends, and in descriptions of significant events in his own life. The diary reveals a rich personality with numerous interests, whose comments offer insights into many facets of the political and cultural life of the period.

Harvard University

PETER N. STEARNS

FRENCH ROYALISM UNDER THE THIRD AND FOURTH REPUBLICS. By *Samuel M. Osgood*. (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff. 1960. Pp. x, 228. Glds. 19.) Samuel Osgood has written an informative and readable account of the activities of all the French royalist pretenders and their followers since 1870. In the first quarter of his book he takes the story up to the Dreyfus case and the founding of the *Action française*. In the second quarter he gives an abbreviated history of this movement until the mid-1930's. From then on he alternates between a political biography of the Comte de Paris and an indictment of Charles Maurras and Company for having led the royalist movement astray. Osgood says that the nationalism of the *Action française* "firmly anchored the monarchical concept at the Extreme Right of French politics where it could not possibly develop; while its royalism proved harmful to its development as a nationalist movement." According to Osgood, the current pretender alone has given the monarchy its proper mission as a symbolic, permanent, unifying agency in twentieth-century France. Osgood rightly sees the *Action française* as primarily opportunistic in its tactics and antidemocratic in its outlook. As for the earlier pretenders, they had simply gone on living in the past. While one may share Osgood's admiration for the charm and the enlightened social philosophy of the Comte de Paris, one must remember that French royalism had its largest following when it was most reactionary, that is, in the period 1871-1914. During the twenties and thirties most of the dwindling number of royalists remained reactionaries, whether they supported the *Action française* or not. Under the Fourth Republic, as Osgood himself admits, there was, properly speaking, no royalist movement at all. There were only the pretender, the epigones of the *Action française*, and a handful of royalist-minded individuals. Osgood has read all the available evidence and talked to all the available people connected with French royalism. Except in

the first quarter of the book, he bases his narrative on primary sources. What he sometimes fails to do is to question the reliability of these sources and to distinguish between statements of fact and opinion, especially in the reports of police spies and the reminiscences of former *Camelots du Roi*. In his desire to bend over backward in being fair to the villain of his piece, Osgood loses his balance on one or two occasions. Maurras was always consciously anti-Semitic throughout his adult life. Yet Osgood says, on the basis of a single letter written around 1900, that Maurras' anti-Semitism may have been contrived and that his continued denunciations of the Jews as France's main enemy in 1943 were issued "quite unconsciously." Aside from such rare slips, Osgood's scholarship and judgments are sound.

Rutgers University

EDWARD R. TANNENBAUM

LA RÉPUBLIQUE DE CLEMENCEAU. By *Georges Wormser*. (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1961. Pp. 522. 16 new fr.) Good biographies of modern French statesmen are so rare that a new one is always welcome. Georges Wormser's book is only half biography, for it is heavily encrusted with personal reminiscence. Its author was Clemenceau's *chef de cabinet civil* at the end of the war and remained one of his few intimates during the bitter postwar decade. This close relationship has enabled Wormser to furnish some fresh details about that period and has provided him with access to some family papers. On the other hand, it has given the book a strongly hagiographic tone; Wormser writes not as a dispassionate observer but as a deeply dedicated disciple. Much of the book is devoted to rebutting the accusations of Clemenceau's critics and to justifying the Tiger's stand in every crucial episode from the Commune to peacemaking. The nearest approach to an admission of error is Wormser's acknowledgment that Clemenceau was too ferociously independent in spirit to understand the need for large disciplined parties in any democratic system. The first quarter of the book is devoted to an analysis of Clemenceau's political creed, to defining the nature of *la république de Clemenceau* (a phrase borrowed, curiously enough, from Engels). Wormser rejects as a mere *boutade* Clemenceau's self-description as "a mixture of anarchist and conservative in undetermined proportions"; he finds the Tiger to have been instead a sincere democrat, a genuine social reformer ("neosocialist" is the word Wormser rather incautiously uses), and above all a libertarian to the core. That deep commitment to "integral liberty," says Wormser, protected Clemenceau against the danger of sectarianism, even on such a sensitive issue as Church schools, and made it possible for this onetime Radical to win the support of the Center and Right. But it never led him to abandon his dedication to democracy and social progress, as most French politicians have done in the course of migrating from Left to Right. With many of Wormser's judgments one might quibble, and some of his omissions one may regret. Still, his book does provide us with a number of fresh insights into the career and the personality of one of the Third Republic's most remarkable and representative leaders. Future biographers will find the volume a valuable source.

Stanford University

GORDON WRIGHT

THE FRENCH RADICAL PARTY FROM HERRIOT TO MENDÈS-FRANCE. By *Francis de Tarr*. Foreword by *Pierre Mendès-France*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1961. Pp. xx, 264. \$5.60.) Toward the end of his book, Mr. de Tarr remarks that in the eyes of some Radicals the party was "more than a mere party: it was a microcosm of France itself." This conclusion about the Radical party under the Fourth Republic is perhaps not quite true, but the diversity of party groups certainly permits partial admission of such a claim. What De Tarr has done is to take these groups (*Radicaux classiques*, *Radicaux de gauche*, *Néo-Radicaux*, *Radicaux Gaullistes*, *Radicaux de gestion*,

and *Radicaux Mendésistes*) and analyze them carefully against the background of the loose "general concepts of radicalism," illustrating his argument from the events of the fourteen years during which this most significant of French parties quarreled, participated importantly in government, pulled governments down, and helped prepare the demise of the parliamentary Republic. His conclusion is that the old-line *Radicaux classiques* declined, but remained tenacious in the party and the nation, the *Radicaux de gestion* were flung into conflict with the more disciplined *Radicaux Mendésistes*, and all went down to defeat in 1958. Terribly divided, they suffered the May 13 crisis "primarily as individuals, and not as members of a political party." The elections six months later completed their humiliation. It is a quality of this book that the author's approach is sympathetic and fair, no matter which group he is discussing. His judgment of Herriot is particularly favorable ("an honourable and honoured career"), and one might have wished for a little more bite here. He resists the easier targets of Queuille and Faure, let alone Gaillard. It can be guessed that he finds Mendès-France most attractive, yet he still holds himself just a little aloof from the enthusiasms of 91, Avenue des Champs Elysées. De Tarr's sources are the press, the Radical party's archives (without evidence, however, of "inside" revelations), the published literature, and an extensive first-hand acquaintance with Radical politicians. The style is easy and attractive. The result is certainly one of the best political analyses of any French party that we have. One might wish that similar studies existed for the earlier reaches of the Radicals' history during the Third Republic and for the history of other French parties. It could, of course, be objected that such a book, coming so soon after the period under discussion, is bound to be superseded quickly. This may be so, but the author's excellent analysis, selection, and judgment make this normally predictable fate for so bold a venture seem much less than certain.

University of Toronto

JOHN C. CAIRNS

LA VIE À PARIS SOUS L'OCCUPATION, 1940-1944. By *Gérard Walter*. [Collection kiosque.] (Paris: Armand Colin. 1960. Pp. 253.) The "Collection kiosque" is based upon the idea that contemporary newspapers and journals provide valuable historical source material both for recounting events and for registering the state of public opinion. When there are free and vigorous periodicals, representing all shades of the political spectrum, that hypothesis is perhaps true; yet only the naïve would presume to write a history of occupied Paris during World War II based solely upon "German newspapers in the French language," that is, the Parisian journals whose contents were strictly controlled by the Nazi occupying authorities. This is not to say that nothing of value can be gleaned from a perusal of the occupied newspapers, and Walter uses his materials skillfully in presenting a lively account of the material and physical conditions of transportation, rationing, black marketing, entertainments, and other outward manifestations of life in the occupied capital. He is much less successful when it comes to the "inner life" of the Parisians. Aware of the pitfalls of trying to reconstruct the Parisian "state of mind" on the basis of a controlled press, he relies heavily upon books published outside France or after the war, particularly Edmond Dubois, *Paris sans lumière*. Unfortunately, he does not seem to be aware of Marcel Baudot's *L'opinion publique sous l'occupation*. Walter has previously written laudatory histories of the French Communist party, of the Bolshevik Revolution, and of some of the more radical leaders and aspects of the French Revolution. In this book he attempts to clear the French Communists of the charge of subservience to Russian interests during the Second World War. Contrary to the prevailing view that the Communist attitude toward the Nazis changed only after June 22, 1941 (when Hitler invaded Russia), Walter states that the French Communists actively opposed the Germans from the very beginning of the

occupation. His evidence on this point is so flimsy, however, as to leave me entirely unconvinced.

Case Institute of Technology

MELVIN KRANZBERG

PHILIPPE II. By *Orestes Ferrara*. Translated from the Spanish by *Francis de Miomandre* and *A. D. Tolédano*. (Paris: Éditions Albin Michel, 1961. Pp. 447. 13.50 new fr.) In his biography of Philip II, Mr. Ferrara sincerely attempts the portrayal of the monarch as he is revealed by the momentous events of his century. Discussion of Philip's marriages, victories and defeats, the imprisonment and death of his son, his efforts to enforce conformity among the Moriscos of Spain and the insurgents of the Low Countries by edict or bloody repression pursues this end successfully. An important segment of the work is the illuminating treatment of Philip's zealous and somewhat paradoxical defense of his faith. While ardently championing Catholicism against all threats, his brazen intervention in papal elections, his attitude toward the Council of Trent, and his strained relations with the papacy attest to his desire for control in ecclesiastical affairs. A finished portrait emerges of a man who undertook responsibilities earnestly, a man wedded to the political tenets of nationalism, alienated by the medieval imperial view. Spain was Philip's country, the rest of his patrimony to be governed in the interest of the national Spanish state. All other concerns were subservient to this interest, not excepting the Catholic Church. Philip was a man of habitual indecision, procrastination, and delay, a king who depended on intrigue, the "secret order," and the element of surprise. This was a man desirous of peace whose cruelty in suppression of discordant elements was savage. The book is based on extensive use of sources, particularly the reports of those ubiquitous men of insight, the Venetian ambassadors. The reader may well regret that no bibliography is included in this paperback edition. The organization seems repetitious, but it is a sound biography that will contribute to the dispersal of the remaining mists of the Black Legend.

University of Arkansas

ANNE RILEY VIZZIER

LA POPULATION CATALANE DE 1553 À 1717: L'IMMIGRATION FRANÇAISE ET LES AUTRES FACTEURS DE SON DÉVELOPPEMENT. By *J. Nadal* and *É. Giralt*. [École Pratique des Hautes Études, VI^e Section. Centre de recherches historiques. Démographie et sociétés, Volume (IV).] (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N. 1960. Pp. xxiii, 354.) Prior to the eighteenth century, hearth tax rolls and bills of mortality furnished the principal data for demographic studies. A count of Catalonian hearths (*fogatge*) was conducted in 1553, but no other "census" was taken until 1717. One of the purposes of *La population catalane* is to investigate intercensal changes, relying upon parish records of baptisms, deaths, and marriages. The sheer bulk of the extant records, to say nothing of the mechanical problems of deciphering and interpreting them, persuaded the two Catalan authors to confine their work to six villages. In the smallest of these, Creixell, recorded baptisms ranged from only 1 in 1642 to 29 in 1701; in the largest, Vilafranca, a maximum of 161 baptisms was recorded in 1649, but the minimum of 73 was reached in 1652. The smallness of the sample justifies the caution with which the authors apply the results of their research to the whole population. (Catalonia had a population of about 300,000 in 1553 and 500,000 in 1717.) Nevertheless, the data yield some interesting and suggestive conclusions. Perhaps the most important generalization concerns the high mortality, especially among children, from recurrent epidemics. "But in every case the power of recuperation was prodigious." For instance, Vilafranca had a net loss of 98 inhabitants in 1706-1710, but in 1711-1715 the net increase was 105. Following periods of severe plague mortality, as many as a third of all marriages were contracted by widows and widowers. The subtitle of this book reveals the major inter-

est of the authors. In addition to parish records, they have combed hospital registers to establish the origin, extent, and character of French migration into Catalonia. As early as 1457 nearly 8 per cent of the patients in Barcelona's Santa Creu hospital were natives of France, and in 1566 this ratio reached a peak of 48 per cent. Most of the immigrants came from the Midi, where "the permanent disequilibrium between the demographic and economic conditions constantly produced an overflow of a fraction of the Pyrenean population out of its natural geographic limits." By the same token, relatively favorable economic circumstances, such as the rise of wages in the sixteenth century, attracted immigrants to Catalonia. But people do not migrate for economic reasons alone. Nadal and Giralt discuss, though not thoroughly, such factors as the religious wars and brigandage on the northern slopes of the Pyrennees. Unquestionably, they have succeeded in their main task of showing "the conspicuous role which French immigrants played in the beginnings of modern Catalonia."

Duke University

ROBERT S. SMITH

GENERALE MISSIVEN VAN GOUVERNEURS-GENERAAL EN RADEN AAN HEREN XVII DER VERENIGDE OOSTINDISCHE COMPAGNIE. Volume I, 1610-1638. Edited by *W. Ph. Coolhaas*. [Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatiën, Grote Serie, Number 104.] (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1960. Pp. xxiv, 782.) This is the first of a planned ten-volume edition of the so-called *Generale Missiven*, that is, summary accounts one or more of which were written every year by the governor-general in council to the directors of the Dutch East India Company, of the company's affairs throughout Asia. According to plan, the whole period from 1610 to 1800 will be covered. It is thus a very burdensome task of difficult selection as only about one-sixteenth of the existing material will be published. The present volume shows, however, how well Professor Coolhaas has succeeded. The edition should only be used in connection with the other important Dutch publications of source material, the editor having left out what has been published elsewhere. A substantial portion of Volume I deals with the Dutch factories and settlements outside Indonesia and reveals information on matters of economic historical interest. The summary character of the *Generale Missiven* means that in a way they may serve as an introduction to the most comprehensive collection of letters received by the company's European headquarters from the East.

University of Copenhagen

KRISTOF GLAMANN

SØNDERBORG BYS HISTORIE. Volume I. Edited by *Holger Hjelholt*. (Sønderborg: Dy-Po Bogforlag, 1960. Pp. 349.) The history of the Danish town of Sønderborg, at the mouth of the Als Sund, a narrow strait that separates the island of Als from Jutland, is deeply interwoven with that of the duchy of Slesvig and with the activities of the Danish crown. The town itself grew up beneath a medieval castle which probably was built by Valdemar the Great in the twelfth century on a strategic position in the Baltic Sea near the entrance of Flensborg Fjord. The present volume dealing with the period down to 1864, when Sønderborg was bombarded and conquered by the Prussian army, views its history against a general background. The work is one of a steadily growing number of recent Danish town histories of a scholarly stamp. All the contributors to the present account are on intimate terms with their subject. Under the editorship of Dr. Holger Hjelholt, who has made many outstanding contributions to the history of Sønderjylland, the work is solidly based on the available sources and is complete as to the various aspects of past town life. The material seems to be well organized; the story is told in a straightforward and nonchauvinistic manner. Johanne Skovgaard covered the period until 1667 when Sønderborg came under the direct rule of the Danish

kings. Johan Hvidtfeldt treats the following era to 1807, while Hjelholt has written about the nineteenth century in partial collaboration with the late O. Kyhl.

University of Copenhagen

KRISTOF GLAMANN

INN I EINVELDET, 1657-1661. By *Halvdan Koht*. [Kriseår i norsk historie.] (Oslo: H. Aschehoug & Co. 1960. Pp. 151.) During the past decade or so, Norway's veteran historian, Halvdan Koht, has, among other writings, been preparing a series of six special studies of "Critical Periods in Norwegian History" from the early Middle Ages to the period of tumult following the Peace of Westphalia in 1648. He began with Norway's first king, Harald Fairhair, in the ninth century, continued with Sverre Sigurdsson in the twelfth and Queen Margaret in the fourteenth centuries, and closed with *Inn i Einveldet* (Entering into Absolutism), where he gives a significant account of Denmark-Norway's desperate effort to survive during the years 1657-1661. On the war that broke out in 1658 and ended in 1660, much has been written by competent northern scholars. But while Danish historian J. A. Fridericia laid the blame for starting it squarely on Denmark-Norway's King Frederick III, Koht feels that the Danish nobles should perhaps share the blame and that a fresh expert appraisal might change the traditional view. From the early sixteenth century, Norway's middle class developed economic rather than political interests by increasing their attention to forests, ships, fish, scattered farms, and a few small but promising seaports. The burghers and landowners had inherited certain privileges which the few nobles were too weak to help them preserve. With Norway facing west, toward England, the Netherlands, and France, with Denmark accepting the mercantilist idea of having its trade under central control, and with Copenhagen as the economic capital of the entire monarchy, Norwegian economy was confronted with a real problem that "might well come to assume a national flavor." In preparing for what seemed an inevitable conflict, both sides looked in all directions for help. When Charles Gustavus decided to invade Denmark and Norway, he was opposed by armies led mainly by German-born and trained officers, but superiority in power and numbers, and some lucky accidents in his favor, assured a Swedish victory. He died before the final peace treaty, which was signed by his son, Charles X. When the first competent Swedish historian of this period, F. F. Carlson, remarked: "Thus everywhere Charles X was in touch with the great political forces [*intressen*] which stirred up all of Europe," Koht's rejoinder is that "it may rather be said dreams of power kept going to the head of the Palatine king, and that here we see some of the Great Power madness for which his grandson [Charles XII] would have to pay dearly." This interesting book, written in Koht-style new Norwegian, reflects the wisdom of a scholar who knows his sources intimately and has the historical perspective needed for their appraisal.

University of California, Los Angeles

WALDEMAR WESTERGAARD

SVERIGES FÖRSTA BANKSEDLAR: STOCKHOLMS BANCOS SEDELUTGIVNING, 1661-1688 [with a summary in English]. By *Aleksanders Platbärzdis*. (Stockholm: Sveriges Riksbank. 1960. Pp. 234, plates.) To help commemorate the tercentenary of the issuance of bank notes in Sweden, the Bank of Sweden (*Sveriges Riksbank*) has published this handsome, well-illustrated, and well-documented work on the first Swedish and European bank notes of their kind. The author has used difficult archival materials with skill and presents a clear picture of a pioneering venture. *Stockholms Banco* was founded in 1657 under the direction of Johan Palmstruch and was the predecessor of the present Bank of Sweden (begun in 1668). Its history, the bank notes themselves, watermarks, paper, counterfeiting, as well as much biographical information are presented in a scholarly manner which makes the book of great

value to economic historians interested in seventeenth-century money and banking.
University of California, Riverside ERNST EKMAN

ZUR POLITÖKONOMISCHEN IDEOLOGIE IN DEUTSCHLAND VOR 1850 UND ANDERE STUDIEN. By *Jürgen Kuczynski*. [Die Geschichte der Lage der Arbeiter unter dem Kapitalismus. Part 1, Die Geschichte der Lage der Arbeiter in Deutschland von 1789 bis zur Gegenwart, Volume X.] (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1960. Pp. vi, 176. DM 11.) Volume X of a multivolume study of the history of the working class under capitalism, this work includes five separate but unrelated parts. A survey of economic doctrines prevailing in Germany before 1850 comprises the first third of the book. The following sections, each of which include contemporary documentary material, describe German resistance to the introduction of industrial machinery, the much-publicized 1844 Silesian weavers' strike, the economic concepts of certain distinguished German novelists and poets, and the Russian collaboration in "liberating" Germany from Napoleonic rule. The author is at his best when he discusses the economic outlook of the German cameralists, whom he describes as primarily tax theorists, and when he relates the principles of the German physiocrats such as Schlettwein and Mauvillon to economic conditions then (1750-1800) prevailing in southwestern Germany and to their French intellectual forerunners. Kuczynski's insight into the relationship of the cameralists, physiocrats, and the so-called historical school of German economists to the stage of German economic development contemporary to their time and his failure to place Marx in that same context are eloquent testimony to the intensity of his ideological commitment. His view that recurrent economic crises and the rise of a leisure class constitute symptoms of a collapsing economic system may be heroic Marxism, but it ignores the realities of an evolving industrial economy. Early nineteenth-century German Ludditism, excerpts from the economic writings of Immermann, Willkomm, and Goethe, and the woeful tale of the insurgent Silesian weavers are cited primarily as ammunition to impugn the emerging capitalist system. Kuczynski's missionary zeal transcends all bounds of propriety when, in connection with the German-Russian collaboration of 1812, he writes, "we all, Arndt, the great leaders of the Soviet country and tens of thousands of us and perhaps hundreds of thousands of we active German anti-fascists, belong to one world, the world of progress and freedom!"
Pennsylvania State University ALFRED G. PUNDT

REVOLUTIONÄRE POLITIK UND ROTE FELDPPOST, 1878-1890. By *Ernst Engelberg*. (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1959. Pp. xiv, 291. DM 8.50.) This study of the "revolutionary politics" of German Social Democracy from 1878 to 1890 by one of East Germany's leading historians is a combination of scholarship and propaganda. Engelberg's propagandistic purpose is "to call special attention to some of the historical and moral-political achievements of the German working class and above all of its party," in the hope that the book will help the "Social Democratic workers remember the best traditions of their party" and thereby "contribute toward the creation of unified action by the German working class against West German militarism and imperialism." In pursuing this purpose the author nevertheless makes a contribution of some value concerning the illegal activity of the party. Working from the unpublished materials in the archive of the Social Democratic party, presently in Amsterdam, he gives an informative account of the management and illegal distribution of *Der Sozialdemokrat*, the party organ published first in Zurich and later in London. The evidence shows that although Bebel was never on the staff of the paper, he held a commanding position in determining its policies. In a long appendix, Engelberg publishes for the first time a detailed description of the paper's illegal distribution, written in 1895 by Julius

Motteler, the "Red Post Master" who directed the operation. On the larger problem of interpreting party policy Engelberg is less successful. He correctly points out that the Social Democrats, while engaging in limited illegal activity, were opposed to the creation of a secret conspiratorial organization. He calls this an "Anti-Secret-Society Tactic" which combined legal and illegal, parliamentary and nonparliamentary activities. He obscures the actual situation, however, because he is too preoccupied to demonstrate that this "Anti-Secret-Society Tactic," credited especially to Bebel, had a thoroughly Marxist revolutionary character. The weakness of Engelberg's interpretation is his failure to recognize that Bebel's support of the "Anti-Secret-Society Tactic" does not distinguish him from his moderate and non-Marxist opponents within the party. These "opportunists," for whom Engelberg has so much contempt, also rejected the establishment of a secret conspiratorial organization, and the combination of legal and illegal, parliamentary and nonparliamentary activities completely suited their purely reformist intentions.

University of California, Berkeley

VERNON L. LIDTKE

DOCUMENTS ON GERMAN FOREIGN POLICY, 1918-1945. SERIES D (1937-1945). VOLUME XI, THE WAR YEARS, SEPTEMBER 1, 1940-JANUARY 31, 1941. [Department of State Publication 7083.] (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office. 1960. Pp. xciv, 1267. \$4.75.) This fascinating documentary cross section of German diplomacy after the spectacular military gains of 1940 amply illustrates the complexity of Germany's external relations from September 1940 through January 1941. The defeat of the Netherlands, Belgium, and France created a host of new problems which, together with the uncertainty about the political future of the defeated states, rendered the implementation of the armistice agreements most difficult. New regimes, ideological movements professing a kinship to National Socialism, economic exploitation, and military occupation, all contributed to the difficulty of a situation, which was further compounded by the continuation of the war against Britain. In an interesting aside, the editors have included key Haushofer and Hess papers to document the unusual peace mission of Hitler's deputy. Not even relations with Spain and Italy were devoid of irritations and disappointments for the Germans. While Franco refused to join the Axis powers in war and thus forced the abandonment of plans to seize Gibraltar, Mussolini launched his disastrous campaign against Greece, which, ultimately, contributed to a fateful delay of the German invasion of Russia. A large segment of the documentation assembled in this volume chronicles the growing differences between Germany and the Soviet Union. The seeds of discord had been long present, and a clash between the two continental would-be arbiters seemed unavoidable. Political, economic, territorial, and other differences were profound and were accentuated by the implications of the Vienna Awards and the Tripartite Pact. Only the belief in the inevitability of war against Russia offers a rational explanation for the pattern of German diplomacy in Eastern Europe. The selection of areas, topics, and documents may be open to criticism in certain instances. Little would be gained, however, from such an exercise. The editors were faced with a difficult task, considering the large mass of documentation, and they are to be complimented for their judicious selection of documents and their high editorial standards.

Alexandria, Virginia

WILLARD ALLEN FLETCHER

DAILY LIFE IN FLORENCE IN THE TIME OF THE MEDICI. By J. Lucas-Dubreton. Translated by A. Lytton Sells. [Daily Life Series.] (New York: Macmillan Company. 1961. Pp. 324. \$4.50.) Beginning with the lovely philosophical tales of the fourteenth century *novellière*, Ser Giovanni Fiorentino, on the origins of the Guelfs and Ghibellines, and concluding with the *Götterdämmerung* of the debauched last Medici,

the author never permits the results of modern scholarship to intrude upon his gossamer narrative. He shuns recent researches into Florentine origins and attributes the birth of the city to a mysterious causative force that shattered "the twilight of the Feudal Era." The city is saved at critical moments from the machinations of the more or less Germanic nobility by a turn of the wheel of fortune. The legendary history of Lorenzo and Savonarola is followed by a description of the sixteenth century that evokes images of Musset's *Lorenzaccio* and shades of Webster's *The White Devil*. All of this has a charm and is heightened by the engaging company we meet along the way. We make a pilgrimage to Loretto with Bartolomeo Masi, we are introduced to the literary men of the *quattrocento* through the gentle biographies of Bisticci, and we suffer through the mundane concerns of the diarist, Landucci. We are even permitted to eavesdrop when Raffaella, the experienced matron, advises her young charge: "Sin if you can't resist, but maintain your good reputation." After this maxim of Tartuffe's, we learn that Petrarch was the first modern man because he knew how to get on in the world and was an Epicurean. Finally, the author presents a piece of advice from Della Casa's *Galateo* which our times might well heed: "Refrain from long descriptions of your dreams as if they were wonderful or important." The reputation of the French for writing excellent popular history will gain little from this work. The very serious and little-investigated subject of an Italian Renaissance gentleman through an analysis of the Florentine manuals, books of etiquette, and diaries remains to be done and could provide us with much-needed insight into a less philosophical facet of the *studia humanitatis*. The English translation of this work needs improvement: in speaking of the death of Ferdinand I, the phrase, "regretté de tous," is rendered, "everybody regretted him." It is to be hoped, however, that the precious section treating Maria Maddalena, *une gaillarde allemande*, the wife of Cosimo II, "qui le fatigue beaucoup," will retain its priceless English translation.

Western Reserve University

MARVIN B. BECKER

IL TEMPO DI ALESSANDRO VI PAPA E DI FRA GIROLAMO SAVONAROLA. By Giovanni Soranzo. [Pubblicazioni dell'Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, Third Series, Scienze storiche, Volume I.] (Milan: Società Editrice Vita e Pensiero. 1960. Pp. 348. L. 4,000.) At last a champion has come forward to speak on behalf of the much-maligned Alexander VI. Having entered the lists, he also challenges the present-day protagonists of Savonarola. In this age, when all value judgments are suspect, one would have thought that this defender of the Borgia pope would have come from the ranks of the historical relativists, or perhaps from the poet-historians who might well have placed the pontiff and the friar in a tragic perspective where each is seen as trapped by circumstances, and his own vision of reality, into being man instead of saint or devil. The author, who has been preparing the way with publications since 1950 and has already broken lances with Picotti over Alexander, comes in a very different guise. He is a historian without a commitment to methodology but with a strong sense of morality; he refers to himself as "lo storico sereno" and promises that he will avoid using sources that are biased. This eliminates the necessity for studying Savonarola's sermons, but requires a reading of public documents. After a review of these allegedly impartial sources, he eulogizes Alexander's patience and generosity, while confessing his stupefaction at the arrogant Savonarola's audacity and presumption. He advises the reader that there are forces in the world today, "some Dominicans," working for the friar's beatification, just as there are "adversaries of the church" who are attacking Alexander. In fairness to the author, it must be stated that Villari, Schnitzer, and, most recently, Ridolfi are indeed open to criticism on these charges. Their works are replete with the hosannas and dirges that accompany just such events,

but unfortunately the author has added his voice to the metahistorical chorus, instead of resisting this ominous trend. The book is divided into four parts: the first being some contemporary views of Savonarola and Alexander; the second, and best portion, dealing with Alexander at the time of Charles VIII's descent into Italy. Here the author scores some points against Pepe's *La politica dei Borgia*, but overstates his case. The third section is concerned with Alexander's "magnanimous" treatment of the troublesome friar, and finally we have the story of the intrigues of Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere against the long-suffering Alexander. Here the author seeks to correct Pastor's too favorable view of the former by showing that the cardinal also used his ecclesiastical position to further the interests of his family. It is a pity that the disasters of pro- and anticlerical scholarship have not served as a warning to the author, for many of Alexander's actions do indeed merit reappraisal, and Soranzo does have much new material that could have served this purpose. Pepe performed a much more difficult rescue when he saved the historical Caesar Borgia from the literary artistry of Machiavelli, and this gives hope to those who are interested in recovering the pope and the friar from the realm of metahistory.

Western Reserve University

MARVIN B. BECKER

VITA PUBBLICA E CLASSI POLITICHE DEL VICEREGNO NAPOLETANO (1656-1734). By *Raffaele Colapietra*. [Politica e Storia, Number 6.] (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura. 1961. Pp. xvii, 277.) For Benedetto Croce the history of Italy as such began only in 1870 when Italy achieved national unity. What preceded unification can best be studied in the mosaic of Italy's many political divisions. Thus, the history of each state is important for an understanding of the whole. The kingdom of Naples had a long history of separatism. Its many phases and problems have been the subject of a vast literature in which Serra's seventeenth-century analysis of its economic decline and Giannone's history in the eighteenth century hold prominent places. More recently, Croce, Nicolini, Schipa, and Cortese have laid the foundations of careful research, which is being continued by the present generation of young historians. Professor Colapietra studies in some detail the period from 1656, the year of the great plague that decimated Naples, to 1734, when Neapolitans were on the eve of achieving independent status under Charles IV. Social mobility characterized this period. The domination of the old baronial feudal families was being whittled away by new social pressure groups drawn from the lesser nobility and the legal profession. Public spirit grew, and the city of Naples became a cultural and political center. These new elements demanded political and economic reforms and curtailment of ecclesiastical power and abuses. At the same time, poverty and want afflicted the provinces, where corruption and disregard of the law prevailed. Popular dissatisfaction against Spanish rule, which had flared up in the abortive revolt of Masaniello in 1647, became more widespread and articulate. The outbreak of the War of the Spanish Succession spawned French and Austrian factions as Neapolitans balanced one claimant against the other in the hope of gaining better conditions for themselves. Habsburg sympathizers among the nobility tried unsuccessfully to mobilize public support through the Macchia conspiracy. Colapietra's work, based on extensive research among primary sources in the archives of the Società Napoletana di Storia Patria and the Biblioteca Nazionale of Naples, traces in detail the political activity of this period and delineates the ferment, instability, and controversies that characterized it. His book is a scholarly addition to the bibliography on southern Italy.

Radcliffe Institute for Independent Study

EMILIANA P. NOETHER

PIETRO GIANNONE: RIFORMATORE E STORICO. By *Brunello Vigezzi*. [Istituto Giangiacomo Feltrinelli, Studi e ricerche storiche, Number 11.] (Milan: Feltrinelli

Editore. 1961. Pp. 340. L. 2,500.) A Neapolitan historian of the eighteenth century, Pietro Giannone wrote two great works, the *Istoria civile* and the *Triregno*, which have been subject to the most diverse interpretations. The first ninety-nine pages of this work are devoted to the historiography of Giannone. Croce, Gentile, and F. Nicolini have seen in him an anticlerical animated by a positivist philosophy, influenced by a Protestant view of history, and tinged with the spirit of Voltaire. De Ruggiero saw in him the ultimate Ghibelline, too preoccupied with his attack on clerical pretensions to observe that Cartesianism would undercut the use of history as a weapon. Corsano emphasized his definitely religious concern. After discussing these and many other evaluations, the author analyzes the *Istoria civile* and then the *Triregno*. He might perhaps better have reversed the order, because the latter work sets forth the presuppositions more clearly. Of the three kingdoms: earthly, celestial, and papal, the earthly begins with the creation and takes shape in the people of Israel. In the sacred book of this people, the Old Testament, Giannone failed to discover a belief in personal immortality and saw here a confirmation of the view of Pomponazzi that soul and body cannot exist apart. Immortality will therefore be postponed to the judgment day, when souls and bodies will be reunited, and in the interim there can be no hell, heaven, or purgatory, no saints to intercede in heaven, and no indulgences on earth. The celestial kingdom stems from Christ, who gave to history a dynamic thrust too great to be contained within the forms of the apostolic age. The subsequent development of the Church is not, therefore, to be considered necessarily a corruption, but there was corruption, namely, in the fusion of Christianity with Alexandrian, that is Platonic philosophy and its doctrine of the immortality of the soul. The third kingdom is that of the papacy, admirable as an institution, perverted in some of its dogmas, and especially in its encroachments upon the state. Giannone envisaged an ultimate harmony in which the Catholic Church, the nationalist states, and modern science would lie down together like the lion and the lamb in paradise. The *Istoria civile* is a history of Naples, embracing as background the history of the West from classical antiquity. Giannone again stands in awe of such mighty popes as Gregory I, Gregory VII, and Innocent III while splashing vitriol on the Spanish vice-regent who, in the sixteenth century, introduced the Inquisition to Naples. The author points out the many ambiguities and inconsistencies in Giannone. With Machiavelli, he admires virtue. The Church is an imposing edifice reared by the energy of man and not resting on *jus divinum*. At the same time, it is the custodian of a divine revelation and a saving dogma, though only a minimum of dogma is necessary for salvation. Here the Enlightenment speaks in the wake of Erasmus. Giannone takes his stand on natural law and yet considers it sacrilege to disobey the will of the prince. His greatness lies not in the achievement of an integrated system but in comprehensiveness. He endeavored to encompass history from the angles of politics, finance, culture, sociology, jurisprudence, and religion and displayed a capacity both to delineate broad movements and to portray graphically salient figures.

Yale University

ROLAND H. BAINTON

OF TYRANNY. By *Vittorio Alfieri*. Translated, edited, and with an introduction by *Julius A. Molinaro* and *Beatrice Corrigan*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1961. Pp. xxxvi, 120. \$4.75.) A "typical example of a revolutionary state of mind" rather than an original political treatise, *Della tirannide* was written by Alfieri in 1777, when he was only twenty-eight years old. Now, almost two hundred years later, *Della tirannide* appears in its first English translation in a lucid and accurate version, prefaced with an informative introduction and supplemented with useful notes, by Professors Molinaro and Corrigan of the University of Toronto. *Della tirannide* reflects Alfieri's hatred of absolutism in any form. In his autobiography he was to admit that some of his youthful

outbursts in *Della tirannide* had been mistaken, but he never repudiated its basic demand for individual liberty.

Radcliffe Institute for Independent Study

EMILIANA P. NOETHER

L'INDUSTRIA LANIERA E COTONIERA IN PIEMONTE DAL 1831 AL 1861. By *Guido Quazza*. [Istituto per la storia del Risorgimento italiano, Comitato di Torino. Pubblicazioni predisposte dal Comitato torinese dell'Istituto per la storia del Risorgimento per il centenario del 1861, Number 7.] (Turin: Museo Nazionale del Risorgimento. 1961. Pp. 332.) Heavily documented and laden with charts, maps, and statistics, this history of the Piedmontese textile industry from 1831 to 1861 will be of some interest to political and social historians. These years were a turning point in the development of the industry, marking its passage from the old forms, domestic craft production in a mercantilist economy, to the factory system. It was a gradual transformation rather than a revolution, for in mechanizing all branches of the textile industry Piedmont lagged behind Lombardy, the most advanced region of Italy. Piedmontese textile men were not a homogeneous group, but the very conditions of the industry made them rather alike. Some entrepreneurs belonged to the Piedmontese industrial "aristocracy," especially in the woolen industry, and often took the lead in introducing new methods. Wool processing in Piedmont during the Restoration was still a state-regulated handicraft activity, and the first improvements were made not in machinery, but in breeds of wool-bearing sheep. Spinning machinery, on the other hand, was brought to Piedmont by foreign enterprisers, French or Swiss innovators originally attracted to the region by the Napoleonic regime, and often remaining after 1815, usually in association with local interests. Another element among Piedmontese textile men consisted of merchants, sometimes from outside the textile market itself, who invested in the industry in order to profit from new techniques. In the second generation of industrial development these three types of entrepreneur were often joined by crafts masters or technicians who had risen. Textile mills were usually run as family businesses, and there were almost no joint-stock companies in the industry. There were no speculators among Piedmontese textile men and no easy money. Puritanically self-disciplined, they regulated their factories rigidly, but often took a charitable, paternalistic line with the obedient workingman. Tasteless, often inbred textile families raised their children to work hard and keep business secrets. Cavour's program of free trade and national unity found little favor among these men, unprepared for such challenges and adventures.

University of California, Berkeley

RICHARD A. WEBSTER

ITALY IN INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION: THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF HER LIBERAL ECONOMIC POLICIES. By *Karel Holbik*. (Padua: Casa Editrice Dott. Antonio Milani. 1959. Pp. xv, 158. L. 2,000.) In this study of postwar Italy Professor Holbik places the operation of the Italian economy against the broad background of the world economy. He is fully aware of the drearier problems facing an Italy attempting to expand its industrial capacities without such fundamental requirements as coal and iron within its own borders. But he sees the correction of the exchange rate between the lira and the dollar beginning in 1946, the lowering of restrictive tariffs, and cooperation in general with such international efforts as the Organization of European Economic Cooperation as beneficial acts both for Italy and for the rest of Europe. Much of the book discusses the "liberalizing" tendencies developed through Italy's role in international economic activities. In this age of managed currencies and collective international arrangements, such liberal trends at best imply not a return to the doctrinaire concepts of nineteenth-century liberalism but rather cooperation within a broad pattern

of world trade overviewed by international management. That economic integration may some day be accompanied by political federation in Europe seems as well to be a liberal hope. The reader familiar with Italian history will meet again in the southern problem that eternal nemesis of the good life for thousands of Italians. In this instance, if it is possible, this perennial affliction seems even more tragic. For it is set against the backdrop of vast expenditures for land reform, reclamation, and housing which have had uncertain results. The book is filled with statistics on Italy's economic life between 1946 and 1956. It will be valuable to the student of Italian affairs, but the layman will find it more difficult, for it demands a knowledge of international affairs and of economic terminology. Prophecy of a still brighter future is not to be found here; rather there is the implication that despite the comparatively earnest efforts of Italy's statesmen and merchants, the road ahead though paved with good intentions will be rough.

Wisconsin State College, La Crosse

GEORGE R. GILKEY

UNGARN UND DER GEHEIME MITARBEITERKREIS KAISER LEOPOLDS II. By *Denis Silagi*. [Südosteuropäische Arbeiten, Number 57.] (Munich: Verlag R. Oldenbourg. 1961. Pp. viii, 156.) In the absence of a full-scale biography of Emperor Leopold II, any substantial contribution in depth to his reign deserves a cordial welcome. This orderly, attractively written monograph, the fragment of a larger work now in progress, reveals much about Leopold II's dealings with and schemings in Hungary during his brief rule. Freshly arrived in Vienna from the grand ducal office in Florence, the monarch's ambivalence on domestic and foreign affairs reflected, at least in part, the tumultuous ferment of his age. "In der Innenpolitik war Leopold modern," we read, "er stand gleichsam mit einem Fuss im 19. Jahrhundert. In der auswärtigen Politik war er ein Traditionalist, gerade zu Theresianisch, ein Mensch des ancien regime." Although Leopold reversed many of the innovations of his "revolutionary" predecessor, he instituted reforms in police administration and education, for instance, that may be called "modern." Certain of the value of publicity and propaganda in the conduct of state affairs, he freely invoked the press and secret patriotic societies in struggles with the rebellious faction of the Magyar nobility. The chief agents of the crown in this program were Franz Gotthardi, sometime police chief in Pest, L. A. Hoffmann, journalist turned university professor, and Anton von Szalkay, soldier of misfortune and remarkable linguist. Original documents, mostly on the Hungarian secret society, "Assoziation," make up an appendix. If the author had annotated his extensive bibliography, it would have been more valuable. No index is supplied.

University of Rochester

ARTHUR J. MAY

DIE BADENISCHEN SPRACHENVERORDNUNGEN VON 1897: IHRE GENESIS UND IHRE AUSWIRKUNGEN VORNEHMLICH AUF DIE INNERÖSTERREICHISCHEN ALPENLÄNDER. Volume I. By *Berthold Sutter*. [Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für neuere Geschichte Österreichs, Number 46.] (Graz-Köln: Verlag Hermann Böhlau Nachf. 1960. Pp. 310. DM 20.) The ordinances of 1897, establishing the parity of the German and Czech languages in the administration of Bohemia, opened the final phase of the decline of parliamentarism in Imperial Austria. The Prime Minister, Count Badeni, hoped to secure a favorable majority in the legislature by making what seemed to him a minor concession to the Young Czechs. Instead he released a whirlwind of national resentments that not only brought about his downfall, but made orderly parliamentary procedure impossible. Thereafter government by decree became the only way out of an impasse which did not end until the collapse of the state in 1918. In the first of what will be two volumes dealing with the Badeni ordinances, Berthold Sutter demonstrates that his work is exhaustive, even if not quite definitive. He begins

with magisterial leisureliness by examining the development of the nationality problem in Bohemia from Joseph II, through the Age of Metternich and the Revolution of 1848, to the formative years of the Dual Monarchy. Then, about midway in the book come the events of early 1897, described in minute detail drawn from archival sources. Lastly, there is an account of the initial reaction to the ordinances and the onset of the storm. No one could possibly charge the author with a sin of factual omission. His interpretations, however, are more vulnerable to attack. He tries hard to consider all sides of the tortured nationality problem; he admits that the Germans were often unsympathetic toward the Czechs, and sometimes arrogant. But the real villain of his piece is Slav chauvinism, which he sees opposing every reasonable compromise, encompassing the fall of the Empire, oppressing the Sudetenland during the republic, and finally committing in 1945 the "most frightful and barbaric transgression against humanity," the expulsion of the Germans. As for frightful and barbaric transgressions against humanity, *de gustibus non disputandum*. But with respect to the Badeni ordinances, Sutter comes close to saying the last word.

University of Wisconsin

THEODORE S. HAMEROW

MAGYARORSZÁG ÉS A MÁSODIK VILÁGHÁBORÚ: TITKOS DIPLOMÁCIAI OKMÁNYOK A HÁBORÚ ELŐZMÉNYEIHEZ ÉS TÖRTÉNETÉHEZ [Hungary and World War II: Secret Diplomatic Documents Pertaining to the Prewar and War History]. Compiled by *Magda Ádám et al.* [Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Institute of Historical Sciences.] ([Budapest:] Kossuth Publishing House. 1959. Pp. 550. Ft. 40.) This long-awaited volume of 178 heretofore largely unpublished documents, dated between February 1, 1933, and October 16, 1944, consists primarily of diplomatic reports, notes, ministerial instructions, and minutes of all-important cabinet meetings that helped shape Hungary's foreign policy during the period. These sources deal overwhelmingly with Hungarian-German relations, and only a few other phases, chiefly Italian with some Russian as well as British and American. Most of these documents are housed in the National Archives at Budapest. They contain some startling revelations. There was, for example, secret and lasting Polish-Rumanian collaboration against the Hungarian government in order to prevent the March 1939 occupation of Carpathian Ruthenia by Hungarian troops. The mutually suspicious German-Hungarian relations, particularly after Hungary's disputed role in the 1938 Sudeten crisis, could never improve. In the light of these papers, it is owing to Regent Horthy's exceedingly indecisive policy and the traditional pro-German attitude of the army officers that no positive steps were taken to eventually leave the German sphere of influence. Furthermore, as reflected in this archival material, the uncertain line of Hungary's wartime policy was also attributable to the nation's century-old fear of the Russians and its experience with the short-lived Hungarian Soviet Republic of 1919. The documents are arranged in nine chapters representing the most significant phases of international developments focused around Hungary. Each chapter has a well-documented study by Magda Ádám, Gyula Juhász, Lajos Kerekes, or László Zsigmond, who prepared a general introduction. Final conclusions are often in line with the pattern of the Marxist-Leninist ideology and thereby disregard some basic facts so convincingly expressed in the sources. A chronology of events, lists of the Hungarian governments and of the Hungarian and foreign diplomatic corps, and a fourteen-page index complete the editorial work.

Library of Congress

FRANCIS S. WAGNER

STALINIST RULE IN THE UKRAINE: A STUDY OF THE DECADE OF MASS TERROR (1929-1939). By *Hryhory Kostiuk*. [Institute for the Study of the USSR, Series I, Number 47.] (Munich: the Institute. 1960. Pp. xiv, 162.) Hryhory

Kostiuk describes with remarkable objectivity how Stalin's NKVD and the Russian Communist party invented Ukrainian "fascist" and "Trotskyite" organizations and then liquidated the Ukraine's intellectual and political leaders under charges that they were members of these mythical organizations. The dual purpose of these purges, Kostiuk concludes, was to make the Ukraine completely submissive to Stalin's will and to root out every manifestation of Ukrainian nationalism. This study demonstrates, almost inadvertently, the operation of a significant historical process that has as yet attracted little scholarly attention. Since 1917 the Ukraine has had a mysterious way of wooing even the most intransigent Russian Communist working under its skies to the belief that it must be governed as a separate national entity by men who thoroughly comprehend its cultural uniqueness. One consequence of this process in the 1930's was that many Communists sent to destroy Ukrainian nationalism remained to defend it until they were themselves destroyed. The book is a useful addition to the literature of the purges and the history of the Ukraine under Soviet rule.

Michigan State University

ARTHUR E. ADAMS

NEAR EAST

LE ROI SAUD, OU L'ORIENT À L'HEURE DES RELÈVES. By *Benoist-Méchin*. (Paris: Éditions Albin Michel. 1960. Pp. 575. 18 new fr.) Benoist-Méchin approaches his subject with the belief that "the revolt in the desert" has been relieved by the "revolution of the cities," that the motive force of the Arab revival has shifted from Arabia to the fertile lands bordering it. Hence he is able to make King Saud the principal figure in his title, even though President Nasser is the central figure in his narrative. The book is primarily a treatment of Near Eastern internal and external politics from around 1952 to the Jordanian crisis of 1957. The Suez crisis of 1956 receives far more attention than does any other one topic. In addition, there are occasional flash backs, including a fairly long one in the case of Egypt. As a general review of a very important series of events, the book is quite useful. The accounts of Nasser's rise to power and of the Suez crisis are the most detailed ones yet to appear in a general discussion such as this. But the book must be used with caution. The notion that King Ibn-Saud was the center of the earlier Arab movement is a myth. The treatment of the Suez crisis relies heavily on French accounts which, while very plausible, still cannot be evaluated. There are too many serious errors, some directly significant to the author's conclusions, which include: that American oil companies did not participate in the Kuwait Oil Company and the Iraq Petroleum Company until 1951-1952; that Pan-Turanianism has been important in Turkish foreign policy since 1936; that the Ummah party won a majority in the Sudanese elections. Finally, the author very inaccurately compares Nasser's negotiations with the British to those of Sidqi. The fact is that Sidqi, in 1946, got far better terms for Egypt than did Nasser in 1953-1954.

University of Illinois

C. ERNEST DAWN

THE INDUSTRIALIZATION OF IRAQ. By *Kathleen M. Langley*. [Harvard Middle Eastern Monographs, Number 5.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Center for Middle Eastern Studies of Harvard University; distrib. by Harvard University Press. 1961. Pp. ix, 313. \$5.50.) Most essays on economic development are concerned with creating world stability and peace by improving the material condition of mankind. This book is no exception. The author defines economic development as "the efforts made by nations to provide a better standard of living for all . . . and not just to provide increased prosperity for a privileged few." Furthermore, her purpose is to trace the growth of industry in Iraq and "to assess the charge of those who hold that it was impeded under the hapless

Hashemite regime." In general, Dr. Langley concludes, somewhat ambiguously, that, with qualifications, the charge is justified. She believes also that the failure of the Hashemite regime to improve living conditions was a cause of the coup of 1958. Some of her specific conclusions, however, seem to contradict these theses. Real wages rose substantially during 1954-1957. During the same period, as a result of the increase in wages and the government's bread program, the consumption of flour increased sharply, and starvation virtually disappeared in Baghdad. Clearly, the relation of economics to politics in Iraq is a complicated matter. Furthermore, the purely economic considerations are not simple. Dr. Langley concludes that the failure of the Hashemite authorities to develop a chemical industry was one of their outstanding mistakes. Yet she provides cogent arguments for this policy. Such seeming contradictions and ambiguities stem from the nature of the author's accomplishment. Despite her desire to contribute to the solution of current problems, Dr. Langley has written a remarkably nondoctrinaire treatment of Iraqi economic development over the last century and a half. The research is impressive, the documentation admirable. To this noneconomist, the delineation of the complexities of economic development is highly enlightening. For those interested in the economic and social history of the Near East, the book provides, at long last, a reliable and meaningful treatment of one country.

University of Illinois

C. ERNEST DAWN

AFRICA

LA POPULATION EUROPÉENNE DE TUNIS AU MILIEU DU XIX^e SIÈCLE: ÉTUDE DÉMOGRAPHIQUE. By *Jean Ganiage*. Preface by *Marcel Reinhard*. [Université de Tunis, Publications de la Faculté des Lettres. Fourth Series: History, Volume II.] (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1960. Pp. 97. 10 new fr.) UNE ENTREPRISE ITALIENNE DE TUNISIE AU MILIEU DU XIX^e SIÈCLE: CORRESPONDANCE COMMERCIALE DE LA THONAIRE DE SIDI DAOUD. By *Jean Ganiage*. [Université de Tunis, Publications de la Faculté des Lettres. Sources de l'histoire de la Tunisie, Second Series, Volume I.] (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1960. Pp. 173. 10 new fr.) LA HARA DE TUNIS: L'ÉVOLUTION D'UN GHETTO NORD-AFRICAINE. By *Paul Sebag*. With the collaboration of *Robert Attal*. [Publications de l'Institut des Hautes Études de Tunis, Mémoires du Centre d'études de sciences humaines, Volume V.] (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1959. Pp. 92, 24 plates. 12 new fr.) The author of a definitive study of the origins of the French protectorate in Tunisia, Jean Ganiage in the first of these works has distilled from parish registers of Tunis and northern Tunisia the evidence to support some generalizations about the Europeans, mostly Maltese and Italians, who lived there between 1840 and 1874. This is the first attempt to exploit such records for an analysis of a nineteenth-century European community. It shows the survival into that century of what Marcel Reinhard calls "cet ancien régime démographique," notable for a high net reproductive rate in spite of startling child mortality (35.3 per cent by the age of five in this case) and frequent epidemics. Similar studies are needed wherever the sources have been spared from the attrition of time and the carelessness of men. Parish records must, however, be used with caution, since, in a city like Tunis, a certain fraction of the highly unstable population is not reflected in them at all. In his second book, Ganiage has edited, with an introduction, the complete business correspondence of a tuna fishery for the years 1851-1856. The 230 letters appear in the original, which is almost always Italian. A profitable enterprise, this concession was held by a local Genoese who had become a minister of the bey. Since the workers and necessary supplies were collected seasonally from Italian ports and the tuna were nearly all exported, the historian will find particularly useful

the information afforded about wages, prices, and banking in the Mediterranean world. Paul Sebag has written an account of the ghetto of Tunis. Emphasis is properly given to recent social changes, for while the Jewish community is very old its annals are slight. Beylical dynasties and the French required the Jews to maintain a kind of religious separatism, now disappearing along with the ghetto itself, as some Jews leave for Israel and others are attracted to a Tunisian nationality by the conciliatory policy of Bourguiba.

Syracuse University

VINCENT CONFER

ERITREA, A COLONY IN TRANSITION: 1941-52. By *G. K. N. Trevaskis*. [Issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1960. Pp. viii, 137. \$3.40.) Eritrea was under Italian influence for some sixty years, and it became a Fascist showplace under Mussolini. The people were content and seemingly unified under the studied benevolence of Italian colonial rule. From 1941 to 1952 the British occupied the land as administrative caretakers. Reflecting a different political philosophy, economic pressures, and war necessities, they introduced the Eritreans to the harsh realities of economic and political life. The prime purpose of this book is to describe the revolutionary changes that occurred in Eritrea under British rule, some by design and others that were inadvertent and unexpected. Land hunger, unemployment, alien subversion, and irresponsible political leadership were vexing problems that divided the people on religious and racial grounds. Caught up in the maelstrom of power politics, Eritrea was ready for a solution of her problems five years before the great powers and the United Nations could agree on it. In the meantime, any unity that had been attained under Italian rule practically disappeared. The decision was finally made in 1950 that Eritrea should become an autonomous state federated with Ethiopia, and by 1952 the British had arranged the details of transition. The author was a British administrator in Eritrea from 1941 to 1950 and served on two commissions that reported on Eritrea prior to the final settlement in the United Nations. His personal observation and the correspondence, official documents, and reports that came under his review as well as prior training and experience rendered him well qualified to write this excellent study. The book is concise but comprehensive, well-organized, reliable, and impartial. It is a valuable account that will be helpful to the historian and of interest to the general reader.

University of Cincinnati

GARLAND G. PARKER

TOWARD UNITY IN AFRICA: A STUDY OF FEDERALISM IN BRITISH AFRICA. By *Donald S. Rothchild*. Foreword by *Gwendolen Carter*. (Washington, D. C.: Public Affairs Press. 1960. Pp. vi, 224. \$5.00.) For one culture to propose solutions for the problems of another is futile and usually fatal for the solutions. This book, whose author operates within the framework of nineteenth-century Western European liberalism, proposes for the problems of the cultural conflicts and Balkanization in contemporary Africa the "solution" of federalism. That federalism is one of the most sophisticated and difficult systems to devise and operate, as those nations that have it know, does not deter the writer, who meets the difficulties of applying federalism to the African scene by minimizing or ignoring them. Running through the book is the presumption that there is an African "nationalism" with a historical European equivalent, thereby demonstrating the author's tenacious adherence to immediate post-World War II attitudes about Africa, which are now being seriously re-evaluated. The evidence since 1945, and the book contains much of it by indirection, is that apart from a few European-educated Africans, the bulk of the sub-Saharan African population remains tribally oriented. This fact, more than any wicked European "imperialism," has inhibited the development of African nationalism along European lines. It may be possible

to rest nationhood upon tribal feeling, but it will not then be a nationhood capable of being equated with that of the European tradition. The proposal of the Western European sophistication of federalism as a "solution" for African problems seems more than a trifle naïve. Rothchild's enthusiasm for federalism makes him attribute to it powers which I wish that it had for African problems. It is fascinating to read the chapters on the tottering Central African Federation, where federalism was to solve the conflict between rising African aspirations and the grim determination of the desperate white oligarchy to keep its power intact. The coolness of Nigerian leaders toward the Greater West African schemes of Nkrumah has a deeper meaning for federalism in Africa than the author chooses to see. His zeal for federalism makes him see it in some odd places, as in the Union of South Africa, whose government is described as "federal in design." The materials cited in the footnotes in the rear (there is no bibliography) contain information which should have given the author pause in advocating for Africa a "solution" from European experience, but which in that very experience has not proven to be a perfect and final one.

University of Southern California

COLIN RHYS LOVELL

ASIA AND THE EAST

THE REFORM AND ABOLITION OF THE TRADITIONAL CHINESE EXAMINATION SYSTEM. By *Wolfgang Franke*. [Chinese Economic and Political Studies, Special Series.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Center for East Asian Studies, Harvard University; distrib. by Harvard University Press. 1960. Pp. viii, 100. \$2.50.) If the ramifications of the Chinese examination system were extensively traced, no great theme in Chinese history would remain untouched. Professor Franke includes in his book an agenda for research; for the time being he has taken a straight institutional line through history, from the Han origins of the examination system to its abolition in 1905, with emphasis on the last few decades. There are some suggestions of the political implications of the system (for example, its connection with movements toward counteraristocratic imperial absolutism) and suggestions of its intellectual implications (like its encouragement toward uniformity of thought, particularly after Sung). But the book's very considerable value lies mainly in its ample and orderly documentation of official recommendations and prescriptions for the examination system itself. In his somewhat routine procedure, Franke does not dwell reflectively on something that is in his textual citations: the distinction between a Confucian critique of the examinations (morality slighted in favor of rote learning) and an incipiently non-Confucian or post-Confucian critique (professional utility slighted in favor of aestheticism). Early critics are seen as fewer in numbers but not, on the whole, different in kind from the coming late nineteenth-century chorus. Yet, the circumstances that ultimately swelled the chorus represented a qualitative change, a change in the possibilities of Confucianism. The author is not quite relativist enough; to assume, as he does, that, in spite of cogent criticism, "narrow minds" kept the system so long intact is to judge unhistorically by modern standards. Were the minds really narrow, or were they broad enough in another world of values? Franke echoes conclusions that the system made intellectuals unfit to consider modern problems (and also that the Manchus reinforced it in order to control their Chinese officials by paralyzing their minds). Yet, a prior question in examination history, surely, is how the examinations fitted intellectuals to the general values of the Confucian world, whose assumptions were at odds with those of the increasingly specialized, scientific, and capitalist-oriented modern West. This would put the emphasis not on the examination system as an inappropriate choice for people who had to face modern problems, but as an appropriate choice in a culture that was not "modern" itself. Without this

distinction we have here, as the author acknowledges, an interim study. It very ably traces an institution through history. But it was a history, for the most part, that had its quintessential cultural expression in the examination institution; it did not just contain an examination motif.

University of California, Berkeley

JOSEPH R. LEVENSON

STUDIES IN CHINESE INSTITUTIONAL HISTORY. By *Lien-Sheng Yang*. [Harvard-Yenching Institute Studies, Number 20.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1961. Pp. 229. \$5.00.) Professor Yang has brought together nine of his articles which appeared in the *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* between 1946 and 1957. Each of these has contributed notably to our understanding of Chinese institutional history. To see them together is to realize afresh the debt which scholars everywhere owe the author for pioneering studies on problems that are as important as they are intractable. The range of the essays is wide. The first, perhaps the most general, is a study of dynastic configurations and sums up the long Chinese tradition of observation and speculation regarding the life cycles of dynasties. Since this article appeared in 1954, the work of scholars around the world has suggested a variety of new dimensions of the problem: correlations between length of official tenure and dynastic stability (James Parsons and Otto van der Sprenkel); the significance of omen readings for the interpretation of dynastic decline (Wolfram Eberhard); the analysis and weighting of *topoi*, situational stereotypes in the dynastic histories (Herbert Franke and others); Chinese historians' preoccupation with moral dynamics and moral standards as it affected their accounts of dynastic events (James T. C. Liu, David S. Nivison, and others); stereotypes of "bad-last," "good-first" emperors, and so forth. Yang, with his unrivaled knowledge of Chinese history as a whole, will, I hope, take the lead in a new critical synthesis of all that we now know or think we know about dynastic configurations. The essays on economic institutions are all of great importance. The study of numbers and units, the essay on work-leisure cycles, the article on Buddhist money-raising institutions, and the invaluable translation of the treatise on economics from the *Chin-shu*—to give only a sampling—are basic readings for anyone interested in China's economic theories and institutional practices. Appended to the collection is a valuable list of additions and corrections. All students of Chinese history are deeply indebted to the author for this harvest of a decade and to the Harvard-Yenching Institute for making it available in pleasing form at modest cost.

Yale University

ARTHUR F. WRIGHT

KŌGUN: THE JAPANESE ARMY IN THE PACIFIC WAR. By *Saburo Hayashi*. In collaboration with *Alvin D. Coox*. (Quantico, Va.: Marine Corps Association. 1959. Pp. xiv, 249. Cloth \$4.50, paper \$1.50.) *Kōgun* was first published in Japan, where it sold sixty thousand copies. The author, Colonel Hayashi, is an experienced army staff officer. Well-educated in his profession, he performed attaché duty in Poland and the Soviet Union from 1938 to 1940, and from then until the end of World War II served in various staff positions in Tokyo. Hayashi has attempted a serious, accurate, and objective account of Japanese Army operations in the Pacific during World War II. Dr. Coox translated the text into English and added biographical digests of principal commanders, as well as references to many of the books on the Pacific War that have been published in the United States. Hayashi focuses his discussions upon three vital problems: first, the army high commanders' estimate of the developing military situation throughout the war; second, the strategic reasoning that underlay operational plans; and third, the way in which these plans were executed. He does not categorically explain just how an army that totaled over five million men in 1945 suffered defeat,

but he does suggest that the traditional independence or virtual autonomy of the high command led it into rash and ill-considered ventures and that cooperation between the army and the navy left much to be desired. Hayashi only implies the most obvious explanation: America's crushing superiority in matériel and skillful employment of air, sea, and ground forces in unified commands. *Kōgun's* coverage of the war is unfortunately sketchy and unsystematic. Stylistically it reads like what it is, a translation from Japanese. The notes, which include expository material as well as citations, are at the back of the book instead of where they belong. But with all its deficiencies, *Kōgun* is valuable because it is the only single Japanese volume on the subject yet published in English.

Department of the Army

JOHN MILLER, JR.

SOCIO-ECONOMIC HISTORY OF NORTHERN INDIA (1030-1194 A.D.). By *Bhāṭat Prasad Mazumdar*. (Calcutta: Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay. 1960. Pp. xxiii, 417. Rs. 20.00.) During the eleventh and twelfth centuries A.D. northern India witnessed a great transformation in its political and cultural life. The age of imperial unity was long past, and the land was parceled out among a congeries of petty principalities and a few large kingdoms pretending to be empires. Most of these states were engaged in endless warfare inspired by no higher motives than ambitions of personal glory and dynastic aggrandizement. The princelings and kings acted in utter oblivion of the larger threat to national existence posed by the raids and invasions of the armies of Islam led by the Turks and Afghans and rarely displayed an awareness of common national interests. There was a general failure of political vision in Hindu India, and the roots of the malaise lay deep in the social, economic, and cultural mores of the times. The dead hand of tradition blighted whatever it touched. Mazumdar has attempted in the present work a history of society caught in the throes of decadence and disintegration. The work was primarily written as a doctoral dissertation for the University of Patna in Bihar and generally follows lines recognized as traditional for such works. It is in fifteen chapters about evenly divided into such convenient groupings as political institutions, economic organization and industrial practices, social life, and religious and moral ideas. It includes some well-written chapters on castes and occupations, position of women, educational systems, forms of landownership, and taxation. The book is based on a large number of Sanskrit texts on law and legal institutions, religion and literature, political theory and practice, which can be generally ascribed to the period under review. There are cross references to inscriptional sources of information. The author has an interesting introductory chapter on feudalism and its effects on political life, and it would certainly have enhanced its value if he had precisely defined terms like feudalism and pointed out in what respects Indian feudalism of this period differed from its European counterpart. One also wishes that there had been a more critical approach to some of the extravagant claims in the Sanskrit texts in behalf of military science and weapons and the chapters on economic organization leave much to be desired. The whole approach seems to be more descriptive than precisely analytical and interpretive. Aside from these points, the work fulfills a real need, and the author deserves praise for attempting the cultural history of a generally neglected period of Indian history in such a detailed manner.

Wake Forest College

B. G. GOKHALE

BRITAIN IN INDIA: AN ACCOUNT OF BRITISH RULE IN THE INDIAN SUBCONTINENT. By *R. P. Masani*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1960. Pp. xv, 278. \$4.00.) With beguiling modesty the author of this book, an eminent Parsi businessman, writer, and public servant, disclaims any pretense of attempting therein a history of British India. What we are offered instead is "retrospect" in the form of a

lucid, admirably balanced commentary on British-Indian relations from the founding of John Company in 1600 to the Act of Independence some three and a half centuries later. His central theme, which is developed with rare skill and impartiality, is the working out in practice of a great British ideal, the principle of imperial trusteeship. The origins of this concept he attributes to certain British proconsuls of the early nineteenth century such as Mountstuart Elphinstone, Governor of Bombay, and Lord Hastings. Fortified by Pitt's India Act of 1784 with its provisions for parliamentary control of the company's affairs, sustained by their personal integrity and sense of responsibility for the alien populace whom they ruled, these administrators, together with their successors of the Victorian Age, implanted the ideals and also created the conditions under which an incipient Indian nationalist movement at length burgeoned forth. In rapid succession Masani reviews the constitutional reforms of Lord Dufferin and Lord Minto, the rise of Tilak's extremist party, the partitioning of Bengal, and the political tension in India during World War I that prompted the historic Montagu pronouncement of August 1917 in the British Parliament. If at times the writer shows a regrettable disposition to gloss over such ugly matters as the terrorist outburst or, to take another instance, the emerging communal problem, these failings in no way diminish the luster of his subsequent exposition with respect to the politics of the interwar period. These were the tumultuous years of dyarchy, of Gandhian civil disobedience campaigns, of the Simon Report, and finally of London Round Table Conferences from which issued, after much haggling and dubious compromise, a new constitutional scheme for an all-India federation under the British crown. Whether this device might have provided a viable political framework for India's heterogeneous millions was, as the author acknowledges, far from certain. Keenly alive to the crisis confronting the British Raj, Masani condemns the wartime political maneuverings of Jinnah, on the one hand, and Gandhi's attempts, on the other hand, to cripple the defense of India from Axis aggression by a renewal of civil disobedience. His concluding chapters trace the persistent but futile struggle by Lord Wavell as viceroy to arrange for an orderly transfer of sovereignty from British to Indian hands. They clarify the circumstances under which his successor, Lord Mountbatten, with the sanction of the Labour government in Great Britain, severed connections in 1947 by embracing Jinnah's two-nation theory in respect to Pakistan.

College of William and Mary

BRUCE T. McCULLY

THE INDIAN AWAKENING AND BENGAL. By *Nemai Sadhan Bose*. (Calcutta: Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay. 1960. Pp. iv, 260. Rs. 10.00.) In the first paragraph of Chapter 1 the author states that "The nineteenth century is one of the brightest periods of the history of India," and that "the eighteenth century, particularly the latter half of it, was one of the darkest ages in the long and eventful history of India." He then devotes eight pages to the political, social, intellectual, and moral decadence of Bengal in the eighteenth century; he holds both the East India Company and the upper classes in Bengal responsible for these conditions. The period from the Battle of Plassey in 1757 to the beginning of the Bengal renaissance in 1815 is treated as a unit both from the viewpoint of darkness in every phase of life and of British administration and of interest in the cultural life of India. No differentiation is made between the policies and objectives of the British before and after 1772. Yet these changes are very effectively described on pages fifty-six to fifty-nine; if a second edition is published, this material should be incorporated in the introductory chapter. This is, however, the only really disappointing feature of the book. One of the most significant historical subjects for this generation is the study of the impact of Western civilization on the non-European world. The author's fundamental thesis, brilliantly expressed in the final paragraph of

Chapter 1, is that the Bengal or Indian renaissance of the nineteenth century was the product of a synthesis utilizing the best of Western thought and the culture and traditions of India's glorious past. Although some scholars maintain that the renaissance would have occurred without the Western impact, Bose accepts the words of Sir Jadunath Sarkar that it was made possible "only because a principle was discovered by which India could throw herself into the full current of modern civilization in the outer world without totally discarding her past." The author then traces the development of this renaissance through the nineteenth century with chapters on Raja Ram-mohun Roy, young Bengal, Western education, Christian missionaries and Hindu awakening, social reforms, the growth of political consciousness, and literature. Most of the movements are treated with enthusiasm and sympathy, and some of the chapters make exciting reading. Bose, is careful, however, to sum up both the favorable and the unfavorable judgments of Indian scholars on each movement. While most American students who are interested in India are familiar with the history of the political activities of the Congress party from 1885 to 1947, the earlier cultural impact of the West on India and the synthesis of Western and Indian culture are less familiar. Although much of the material presented in this book is available elsewhere, the author has performed a real service in collecting it and presenting it so effectively. Mild criticism may be offered of the number of misspelled words and of the frequent use of quotations without the source being cited.

Western Reserve University

DONALD GROVE BARNES

THE DISCOVERY OF THE PACIFIC ISLANDS. By *Andrew Sharp*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1960. Pp. xiii, 259. \$7.20.) While writing his stimulating and controversial study of pre-European exploration and settlement of the Pacific Islands, *Ancient Voyagers in the Pacific*, Mr. Sharp found that "many of the identifications of islands allegedly seen by various [European] explorers were suspect or speculative." He here attempts to set the record straight, using materials unavailable to the "classical" hydrographers, such as accounts of voyages only recently discovered or published, and cross-checking data in these and other original sources with modern hydrographic authorities and charts. The resultant firm identification of most of the islands noted during the exploratory period, of their discoverers (from Magellan in 1519 to Brooks in 1859), and of the dates of first encounter, provides the most accurate account of the sequence of European discovery ever published. Sharp also provides summaries of the discoverers' descriptions of aboriginal material culture. He excludes from summary, as generally prejudiced and unscientific, their writings on the more intangible aspects of native custom, but considers their "factual" observations "consistent, realistic, and objective." His condensations thereof will probably prove of most value as convenient references to their original sources. The author treats, in strict chronological sequence, only those voyages which found "new" islands. Topographical and nautical details, abstracted from the various written accounts, are painstakingly and often ingeniously compared with each other and with modern hydrographic data in order to pinpoint discovery. When available, ethnographic information follows identification. Each section concludes with a summary of discoveries or of first firm reports. The book is well indexed. Its exposition confined to the essential data of first encounter in Melanesia, Micronesia, and Polynesia, this work is primarily for the specialist in Pacific Island studies, or for the very keenly interested layman. It provides a valuable and necessary companion to J. C. Beaglehole's classic, *The Exploration of the Pacific*, and to P. H. Buck's more general survey, *Explorers of the Pacific*, and will be used as a check against these and the original accounts.

University of Hawaii

THOMAS D. MURPHY

AMERICAS

OCHERKI NOVOI I NOVEISHEI ISTORII SShA, Tom I [Survey of Modern and Contemporary US History, Volume I.] Edited by *G. H. Sevostianov et al.* (Moscow: USSR Academy of Sciences Press. 1960. Pp. 630. 27 rubles.) Few histories of the United States have been written for the Russian reader. No Soviet work has been as extensive as that of which this is the first volume. Sponsored by the Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences, and therefore to be viewed as a reflection of thought at the very center of Soviet historical scholarship, this is the product of twelve authors, evidently of the younger generation, who have worked under the guidance of a number of persons from that small group of Soviet historians who have published substantial books on American internal history. In discussing American history from 1607 to 1918, they have neglected no major topic of political, social, or cultural history. There are long chapters on literature, the arts, and on American historiography. Many footnotes are supplied, and the bibliography refers to a large number of the works of American historians of all schools and periods. Some new or unfamiliar material is presented in the form of citations of documents from the archives of the Imperial Ministry of Foreign Affairs referring to the Monroe Doctrine and to the Oregon question. Despite these virtues, the book is largely a political tract, drawing its interpretations from the somewhat random references to America found in the writings of Marx, Engels, and Lenin, and from the deeply committed William Z. Foster. As a result, American political and social development is shown as embodying a sharp contrast between "progressive" and "reactionary" forces. The contrast is often sharp enough to cause the reader to wonder at the continued survival of the established order. The harshest judgments of all are those directed against American relations with other nations. These are depicted as being carried on under the close, almost personal control of American capitalists who are intent upon using national power for their own profit. In some cases, these interpretations result in absurdities of judgment, the most startling of which is the statement that Poe's gloom and despair resulted from the spiritual impasse in which the South found itself. Soviet historians have not produced in this book a work that can be considered as a fair-minded or enlightened view of American history. Ideological needs for demonstrating capitalist villainy are still strong, and it is likely that they will continue to shape the writing of books such as this "political tract with footnotes." *Washington, D. C.*

ROBERT V. ALLEN

THE HERITAGE OF AMERICAN SOCIAL WORK: READINGS IN ITS PHILOSOPHICAL AND INSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT. Edited by *Ralph E. and Muriel W. Pumphrey*. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1961. Pp. xvi, 452. \$10.00.) Starting with Captain John Smith in Virginia in 1609—"he that gathereth not every day as much as I do, the next day shall be . . . banished from the Fort as a drone"—and carrying through to Justice Cardozo, delivering in 1937 the opinion of the Supreme Court on Titles VIII and II of the Social Security Act, Ralph and Muriel Pumphrey have selected and assembled 112 readings in the history of social welfare, the social services, and social work in this book. Though laws, annual reports, town records, letters, conference papers, and significant statements from leaders in the field are quoted, the term "collected documents" is too heavy to use in describing this delightful anthology. It represents the gleanings of the Pumphreys during the years they have been teaching history to students of social work. In this book they are also teaching, not only through the readings but in the introductions to the four chronological periods and the thirty-seven principal subjects under which the book has been organized, and in the brief footnotes that emphasize significant points. Brevity is likewise a character-

istic of the readings. They provide flashes of insight into the charitable, mutual, and public aid of colonial times; a brief look at the main developments between the adoption of the Constitution and the Pierce veto; a survey of the nineteenth-century days of the COS, the settlements, the state boards of charity, the National Conference; and an illuminating review of the revolution of professionalism in social work between 1895 and 1937. In this last period the Pumphreys' selections and comments show how the profession came to be organized, the emergence of education for social work, and the origins of method in case work, group work, community organization, and research. This is a book in which some readers will browse, but also one which others will read through from beginning to end. It will appeal to the social worker interested in history, to the historically oriented teacher of social work and his students, and to the historian who wants to observe the movement and development of social work. Columbia University Press has successfully solved the problem of presenting a considerable volume of material in readable type and in an attractive format.

Washington, D. C.

KARL DE SCHWEINITZ

THE UNITED COLONIES OF NEW ENGLAND—1643-90. By *Harry M. Ward*. (New York: Vantage Press. 1961. Pp. 434. \$4.50.) His publisher being apparently reluctant to give him the assistance he had a right to expect, Professor Ward's book does not fill a need as well as it might. As a result, this study of seventeenth-century union among the New England colonies is not as good as it might have been. The potentialities were there: the author's zest for research is obvious on every page; and, if his annotation is any test, he left no source unexplored, either printed or manuscript. But however interesting the story he tells, it is disjointed and rough. Its lack of narrative continuity is as much a fault of the publisher's editor, presumably knowledgeable in such matters, as it is of the author, who presumably is not, since this is his first book. The same metaphysic obtains with Ward's recurring theme that the experience of the united New England colonies in the first century of the American experience was important as the early great example of federalism in this country and as such influential in later attempts at union in the next century. All of this may be true, but I would need more evidence than the author brings to bear that such was in fact the case. Here again the editor could have helped on what was at most a problem of emphasis, and here again the Vantage Press was napping. It was dozing, too, in not insisting that the author prune away those colloquialisms that simply do not belong in a scholarly work. Occasionally both author and proofreader fell asleep, for there are too many errors that got past each and into print. Surely the publisher was unconscious when the book was bound: my review copy lacked pages 211 through 242. The less said about the quality of the illustrations the better. In sum, the Vantage Press has not served Ward well. But neither it nor he is so much the loser as is the world of scholarship.

Massachusetts Historical Society

MALCOLM FREIBERG

OLD TEXTBOOKS: SPELLING, GRAMMAR, READING, ARITHMETIC, GEOGRAPHY, AMERICAN HISTORY, CIVIL GOVERNMENT, PHYSIOLOGY, PENMANSHIP, ART, MUSIC—AS TAUGHT IN THE COMMON SCHOOLS FROM COLONIAL DAYS TO 1900. By *John A. Nietz*. (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press. 1961. Pp. vii, 364. \$6.00.) Based on the author's collection of over eight thousand textbooks published before 1900 and on more than thirty unpublished doctoral dissertations of his students at the University of Pittsburgh, this book is a study of the texts used in American elementary schools up to 1900. There are chapters on spellers, readers, grammars, arithmetics, geographies, American histories, civil government texts, and physiologies, as well as a brief look at such peripheral elementary subjects as penman-

ship, art, and music. A tendency of the author to list text after text hardly makes for intriguing reading, but unfortunately a curiously spotty index also keeps the material covered from being fully useful as a catalogue of early texts. Some of the content analysis of the texts will be useful to historians. It is helpful to have attention drawn to the unpublished dissertations on geography texts by John R. Sahli and Ned Cutter; on United States history texts by C. D. Jacobs and Frank R. Caputo; and on early civics texts by Wayne E. Mason. Nietz has made no effort to determine in what manner, in what combination, and to what extent these texts were used in the schools, although he does show in a general way that the fact of their publication reflected a developing differentiation of subject matter and the gradual growth of graded schools.

Williams College

FREDERICK RUDOLPH

EARLY AMERICAN POLICY: SIX COLUMBIA CONTRIBUTORS. By *Joseph Dorfman* and *R. G. Tugwell*. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1960. Pp. 356. \$6.00.) This series of essays about six Columbia students and teachers amply illustrates that Columbia has produced a number of distinguished contributors, both practical and theoretical, to the subject of political economy in the United States. Alexander Hamilton and John Jay, students of the college, were the practical contributors. The others—John McVickar, Henry Vethake, William Beach Lawrence, and Francis Lieber—were the theoreticians. The two statesmen laid the foundations for the national system of political economy, a pragmatic, systemless system, one so viable as to survive even our greatest fits of political idiocy. The four theoreticians (teachers all, and all but Lieber Columbia students as well) were as responsible as anyone for the development and spreading of political economy, economics, and international law as formal academic disciplines. Ironically, had the theoreticians had their way, they would have destroyed the all but indestructible creations of their pragmatic predecessors. American historiography has advanced a long way in the last quarter century. The essays were originally published in the 1930's, and if the authors had not so informed us in the preface, it would be obvious from the dated clichés on every page. Imagine the reactions of modern graduate students, doubtless entrapped in current clichés, but thereby freed from those of the New Deal era, to the always oversimplified but once vigorous and now debilitated dichotomy of conservative and aristocratic bad guys versus liberal and democratic good guys. With callous disrespect to their elders and betters, they will wonder at the naïveté of the authors' account of Hamilton, for they know of the admirable works of Joseph Charles, Noble Cunningham, Stephen Kurtz, Manning Dauer, and Bray Hammond, to name but a few who have demolished the earlier, conventional interpretations of the Federalist period. They might also disagree with the authors' tried but untrue characterization of Hamilton's program as designed for the benefit of the rich and well born. Thanks to later research they will recognize that much of Hamilton's program was established in direct opposition to the interests of the three richest and most powerful groups in the nation: the international merchants, the planters of great staples, and the speculators in public lands. Finally, they would wonder at the mystery and speculation with which the authors surround problems which to modern students would seem relatively simple, had the authors sought to illuminate them by easily discoverable facts. Examples include the mystery of Jay's sudden emergence as an active patriot in 1774, after previous apparent apathy and Tory sympathies; the illuminating fact that after being rejected by two De Lancey ladies, Jay married William Livingston's daughter in 1774; or, the speculation as to why William Samuel Johnson left the presidency of Columbia (Johnson was seventy-three years old). Another factor illustrated by the book is curiously double edged and ironic. Justly celebrated as Dorfman and Tugwell are, though, fortunately, their reputations rest upon activities considerably

more solid than these essays, their particular virtues and faults come shining through these pages. Dorfman, as a brilliant and profound theoretician, understands brilliant and profound theoreticians, and Tugwell, as a brilliant and profound ideologue, understands brilliant and profound ideologues. Accordingly, neither understands Hamilton and neither understands Jay, for these were pragmatic statesmen, opposed, above all, to theory and ideology, and thus despite the authors' repeated but half-hearted praise, Hamilton emerges as a scoundrel, and Jay emerges as a fool.

Brown University

FORREST McDONALD

FORTS ON THE PENNSYLVANIA FRONTIER, 1753-1758. By *William A. Hunter*. (Harrisburg: Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission. 1960. Pp. xi, 596. \$5.00 postpaid.) As the title indicates, this book is a descriptive history of forts built in Pennsylvania during the early years of the French and Indian War. Several introductory chapters describe the setting and summarize the familiar events that led to the conflict. Subsequent chapters deal with the "forts" built by Virginia in southwestern Pennsylvania, with the French forts on the Allegheny, and with local, provincial, and private forts erected by Pennsylvania. The book stops in 1758, leaving the story of the Forbes campaign and subsequent forts for a projected second volume. This is a peculiar kind of history: it is not social; it is not political; it is not the history of a region; and it is not military history in the usual sense, although there is a scattering of all of these kinds of history throughout. The volume can perhaps best be described as a reference work in the field of local history. The scheme of presentation, a chronological and detailed history of each fort, contains serious flaws of organization. For example, the defending force in a given battle will be described in one chapter, while the attacking force will be dealt with later in a different chapter devoted to the fort from which the attackers operated. The fortifications at the forks of the Ohio are chronicled in three different chapters, despite the fact that what is actually involved was basically one fort with different names. One result of all this is a large amount of repetition. The author has diligently studied his subject and writes with meticulous care and a solid knowledge of the period. Unfortunately, the flaw of the book lies in its conception. It will be of interest primarily to genealogists, antiquarians, and local historical societies.

University of Pittsburgh

HUGH G. CLELAND

NATHANAEL GREENE: STRATEGIST OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION. By *Theodore Thayer*. (New York: Twayne Publishers. 1960. Pp. 500. \$6.95.) Had Major General Nathanael Greene been of age for service in World War II, the regular army doctors would have rejected him. From childhood Greene had a stiff knee that gave him a pronounced limp. Indeed, that same knee kept him from becoming captain of the Kentish Guards (corresponding to today's local National Guard unit) though everyone in the company conceded he had done more for the Guards and knew more military science and tactics from reading books and having hired a British deserter as a drill sergeant than did anyone else in Rhode Island. The Kentish Guards, nevertheless, thought his limp detracted from the company's smart appearance. They compromised the issue by letting him continue as a private in the rear rank. But in the Rhode Island legislature, where Greene served as a deputy, his grasp of the military problems inherent in arming the colony and his intimate knowledge of detail and natural qualities of leadership caused him to be named brigadier general to command that state's volunteer regiments that moved into the lines about Boston. This is where Washington first met him; thereafter their military careers became more or less inseparable. Greene is rightly credited as having influenced Washington more toward his

Fabian tactics and strategy, following the fall of New York, than did any other general. For this Greene's critics predicted he was going to get America "Fabioused to death." When Greene was sent south to an independent command, succeeding Gates, who was defeated and relieved, his tactics and strategy were those of Fabius at his best. His British and Tory opponents were hardly in a class with Hannibal, and Greene's reputation grew proportionately. But Greene had other qualities, well depicted by the author, that set him aside from most of his contemporaries. Ambition never impaired his intense loyalty to his cause and his commander, and he inspired that loyalty in others. He possessed both knowledge and imagination. This is not a military biography bristling with diagrams of marches and battles. It is the definitive, personal biography of a great citizen-soldier, an early day national guardsman, who died too soon and too young (at the age of forty-four in 1786) to participate in the formative years of the United States as a nation. The author brought to his task both understanding and objectivity. He has made exhaustive use of basic historical sources, particularly the Greene Manuscript Collection in the Clements Library of American History, at the University of Michigan.

Wisconsin State College, Superior JIM DAN HILL

PROFESSIONAL DIPLOMACY IN THE UNITED STATES, 1779-1939: A STUDY IN ADMINISTRATIVE HISTORY. By *Frederick Warren Ilchman*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1961. Pp. 254. \$6.00.) In this highly useful if somewhat labored book, five tightly packed and heavily documented chapters trace the professionalization, democratization, and specialization of the diplomatic service from the establishment of the first permanent missions abroad to the outbreak of the Second World War. By professionalization is meant the exemption of recruitment, tenure, and promotion from political considerations. Democratization refers to opening the ranks to all who are physically and intellectually qualified, regardless of financial position. Specialization has to do with the movement to differentiate and develop appropriate skills. The author properly stresses the key role played by Congress in this evolution, and he has exploited with diligence and skill the printed records of the legislative branch. He has investigated faithfully the pertinent files in the State Department archives and has used to advantage the minutes of the boards of examiners in the twentieth century. He has mastered the published data on those Secretaries of State and Foreign Service officers important to his story, but he did not examine any personal papers in manuscript form. His conclusions on the educational and geographical background of career diplomats will revise some widely held views, but he has glossed over, with the comment that "no evidence exists," the question of religious discrimination within the service. His exposition and analysis are fullest when he deals with the status of secretaries of legations in the nineteenth century, with Theodore Roosevelt's executive order of November 10, 1905, with the Rogers Act of May 24, 1924, and with the struggle to carry out the fusion of the diplomatic and consular service after that date. Root, Hughes, Kellogg, and the Republicans generally emerge as champions of professional diplomacy; Bryan and the Democrats fare worse. Although the going is often tedious, the volume is worth reading not only for the specific data it contains but also for the lesson it offers on how congressional and public opinion can influence the conduct of foreign policy. In lieu of a detailed bibliography the author has provided a four-page essay describing his major sources and a reference to the original version of the study, a dissertation presented to the University of Cambridge in 1959.

Northwestern University

RICHARD W. LEOPOLD

NO TRANSFER: AN AMERICAN SECURITY PRINCIPLE. By *John A. Logan, Jr.* [Yale Historical Publications, Studies Number 21.] (New Haven, Conn.: Yale Uni-

versity Press. 1961. Pp. ix, 430. \$6.75.) Since the very month of independence, Congress and, more often, the executive have expressed their opposition to the transfer of colonial possessions in this hemisphere from one European state to another. Although long recognized as a major theme in American diplomacy, and often, particularly in the later phases, treated as part of the story of the Monroe Doctrine, with which Grant and Fish identified it, "no transfer" has lacked its own historian. This omission is repaired by John A. Logan's *No Transfer: An American Security Principle*. Using materials for the most part familiar, Logan has nevertheless, because of the freshness of his approach, produced an interesting, often original study. No transfer evolved, Logan says, "as the basic instrument for promoting the grand designs of American security policy—isolation, the preservation of a balance of power among our neighbors, access to the Mississippi outlet, and continental expansion." Most often this meant an insistence that Spain, a weak power, be permitted by Europe to hold her colonies, at least until they were prepared to assert their independence or the United States was ready to take them itself. No transfer was perhaps a weapon rather than a policy, as Logan himself recognizes, for it was often incompletely applied and in the early years its application was limited to areas contiguous to the United States. Still, it was an important weapon, gradually sanctified by time. In 1941 it was mobilized to justify the preclusive occupation of Greenland and Iceland, and in May of that year Undersecretary Welles even proposed to proclaim its applicability to the West African coast. As Welles's suggestion hinted, no transfer was about to become submerged in security policies ranging far beyond the traditional hemispheric limits. Like isolation, it died an honorable death after long service to the nation. In the most provocative part of his book, Logan argues that no transfer was the "fountainhead" from which the Monroe Doctrine sprang. Developed to defend the idea of two spheres at a time when almost all of the hemisphere was subject to Europe, no transfer had to be recast when Latin America cast off the yoke of Spain. Hence the ideas expressed in the message of 1823. On the whole Logan makes a good case for the connection between no transfer and Monroe's pronouncement, for both aimed at much the same problem, the possible establishment of new areas of European power in this hemisphere. This is of course not the whole story, but Logan's thesis, like his more general contention that no transfer has been the most persistent American security policy, should not be ignored by students of American diplomacy.

University of California, Los Angeles

BRADFORD PERKINS

A HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES WEATHER BUREAU. By *Donald R. Whitnah*. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1961. Pp. ix, 267. \$6.00.) Coming at a time when the federal government's participation in scientific effort is increasing rapidly, this account of the national weather service should be of interest to students of government and science alike. The author has done an excellent job of documenting the government's historical role in the development of meteorological services, beginning with the early efforts of the Surgeon General's Office (1812), continuing with the Smithsonian Institution's telegraphic collection of data (1840), and culminating in the establishment of a service, maintained by the Signal Corps, following the introduction in Congress of a resolution by Representative H. E. Paine of Wisconsin. Although the weather service had an auspicious beginning (1870-1880), the trials of a military agency performing a civilian function resulted in transfer of the service to the Department of Agriculture (1891), after a decade of public and congressional criticism and internal disorder within the Signal Corps. During this period, there is somewhat disconcerting evidence that promising programs such as the formation of a hurricane observational network in the West Indies, 1872-1874, and the formulating of severe local storm alerts, 1884, were sometimes begun and permitted to languish. Civilian control

did not end the political troubles of the weather service. Mark W. Harrington, the first chief of the Weather Bureau, appointed by President Harrison, shortly came into conflict, for example, with the new Secretary of Agriculture appointed by Cleveland. Secretary Morton wished to control the Bureau's operations closely. He was unsympathetic with Harrington's plans to expand research and in 1895 was able to bring about Harrington's resignation, though the latter was a competent administrator and an able scientist. Notwithstanding political embroilments and more routine difficulties arising from the vagaries of appropriations committees and occasional outbursts of criticism from the public, the Weather Bureau continued to improve its services during the first twenty years of civilian operation. Under the leadership of later chiefs, the Bureau's technical proficiency developed in response to improvements in upper air observational techniques, the establishment of the polar front theory, and the introduction of new methods of analysis. The growth of aviation stimulated technical development and led to insistent demands for a specialized service, causing a revolution in the Bureau's observing and forecasting programs during the late twenties and early thirties, and eventually leading to transfer of the Bureau from the Department of Agriculture to the Department of Commerce (1940). In general, Whitnah fulfills his objectives of presenting a history of the Bureau's public services. Major omissions are the author's failure to discuss in any detail the effect of automation and of numerical weather prediction on the Bureau's forecasting operations and an inadequate treatment of the expansion of research during the decade 1951-1960.

Washington, D. C.

M. F. HARRIS

DAVID RICE ATCHISON OF MISSOURI: BORDER POLITICIAN. By *William E. Parrish*. [University of Missouri Studies, Volume XXXIV, Number 1.] (Columbia: University of Missouri Press. 1961. Pp. xi, 271. \$3.95.) Part southern, part northern, and wholly western, Missouri symbolized the border. From the inception of the compromise that bore its name until the Civil War, the state was a battleground with the abolition or extension of slavery the issue, and its travail was, in microcosm, the agony of the Union. David Rice Atchison was the leader of the proslavery forces. Though he fell short of heroic stature in an age of giants, his influence was in many respects greater than that of contemporaries who played larger roles. He possessed all the qualities that usually insure political success, but as Mr. Parrish shows in this well-integrated, fully documented, and admirably detached biography, the circumstances of time and place condemned him to the second rank. Atchison's career in national politics was confined to two terms in the United States Senate, which he entered in 1843 at the age of thirty-six. With the backing of the powerful states' rights wing of the Democratic party, he was strong enough by 1850 to encompass the defeat of his more famous colleague, Thomas Hart Benton, but animosities intensified by the struggle cost him his own seat four years later. In the interval he gave himself wholly to the South, teaming with Stephen A. Douglas to establish "squatter sovereignty" in Kansas, then doing all in his power to colonize that unhappy territory with southern sympathizers. He himself migrated to the town of Atchison, named in his honor, but returned to Missouri in 1857, after his cause was lost. The remaining thirty years of his life were devoted to farming, interrupted only by a period of undistinguished service in the Confederate Army. Parrish does not speculate, but it is clear that Atchison, except for his choice of sides, might well have been the man to beat in 1860.

Washington, D. C.

CHARLES M. WILTSE

PROPHET OF PROHIBITION: NEAL DOW AND HIS CRUSADE. By *Frank L. Byrne*. (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin for the Department of His-

tory, University of Wisconsin. 1961. Pp. vii, 184. \$4.00.) Students of social history have long felt the need for a good biography of Neal Dow, the author of the celebrated Maine Law of 1851, who for many decades stood as both symbol and leader of the American temperance movement and aggressively championed prohibition throughout the English-speaking world. This able book, which is based on Dow's letters and diaries and an impressive selection of better-known sources, does much to illuminate the motives and personality of one of the least attractive reformers of the nineteenth century. Dow emerges in Mr. Byrne's portrait as a cocky, pugnacious, acquisitive, and extraordinarily self-righteous little man who never doubted that he held a mandate to supervise the morals of his countrymen and to seek out and punish the unregenerate. In so far as Byrne presents a thesis regarding reform, it is close to Clifford S. Griffin's concept of conservative social control and moral stewardship. Dow was seemingly unaffected by the currents of evangelism and romantic humanitarianism which altered the character of many reform movements by the 1840's. His tough-minded prohibitionism left no room for moral suasion or compassion for the victims of social evils. Yet Dow was an active and sometimes skillful politician who knew how to exploit party conflicts for his own ends. Byrne's narrative provides valuable insights on the relation of Dow's political strategy to the fluctuating structure of parties in the 1840's and 1850's and helps account for the decline of temperance reform after 1856. The biography includes an account of Dow's war experiences (he was captured by the Confederates) and his important part in the postwar prohibitionist crusade. Though Dow had never succeeded in driving alcohol from even his native Portland, he was a "saintly symbol" for the next generation of reformers and continued making prohibitionist speeches until 1895.

Cornell University

DAVID B. DAVIS

FIVE INDIAN TRIBES OF THE UPPER MISSOURI: SIOUX, ARICKARAS, ASSINIBOINES, CREES, CROWS. By *Edwin Thompson Denig*. Edited and with an introduction by *John C. Ewers*. [The Civilization of the American Indian Series, Number 59.] (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1961. Pp. xxxvii, 217. \$4.00.) Edwin Denig, American Fur Company agent, qualified as a pioneer ethnologist by living twenty-three years (1833-1856) among the Upper Missouri Indians. He married the daughter of an Assiniboin chief, and in tribal fashion took a supplementary wife. Here his assimilation ended. As editor John C. Ewers demonstrates, Denig was no raw "Indian countryman." The versatile Swedenborgian collected legends for Father De Smet, stuffed mammals for the Smithsonian, provided Schoolcraft with an Assiniboin vocabulary, and responded to the latter's elaborate ethnological questionnaire with an account of the Upper Missouri tribes. He devoted his last years to compiling a still more complete history of the tribes with whom he had traded. The Bureau of American Ethnology published Denig's response to Schoolcraft in 1930. A fragment of his unfinished magnum opus survived as the "Culbertson Manuscript," now in the Missouri Historical Society. Noting similarities between the "Culbertson Manuscript" and Denig's published account, Ewers called on FBI handwriting experts, who confirmed his attribution of the manuscript to Denig. The fur trader's history exhibits some occupational bias. Denig devotes far more attention to the Indians' habitat, material culture, and trade, to tales of war and the chase and of influential chiefs, than to ceremony, social structure, or world view. Actually, he planned to add a general account of manners, customs, and beliefs to his histories of individual tribes, but died before he completed the work. He did provide a few notes on behavior and beliefs distinctive to particular tribes, except for those he regarded as unprintable. Dealing with nations in the throes of acculturation, Denig tells vividly and sympathetically of the toll taken by white men's diseases. He nevertheless defines a "good Indian" as one friendly to white men, regards trade as a civilizing

education, and thinks the most commercially sophisticated tribe the one most capable of "improvement." Ewers rounds off his superb job of detective work with extensive footnotes amplifying and correcting Denig's ethnohistory.

Ohio State University

MARY E. YOUNG

KIRBY BENEDICT, FRONTIER FEDERAL JUDGE: AN ACCOUNT OF LEGAL AND JUDICIAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE SOUTHWEST, 1853-1874, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE INDIAN, SLAVERY, SOCIAL AND POLITICAL AFFAIRS, JOURNALISM, AND A CHAPTER ON CIRCUIT RIDING WITH ABRAHAM LINCOLN IN ILLINOIS. By *Aurora Hunt*. [Western Frontiersmen Series, Number 8.] (Glendale, Calif.: Arthur H. Clark Company. 1961. Pp. 268. \$9.00 pre-paid.) Benedict (1810-1874) rode an Illinois circuit (1837-1853) with Lincoln, Douglas, and Judge David Davis. He was an associate justice in New Mexico Territory (1853-1858) and chief justice (1858-1866), with huge circuits to ride as well. Disbarred for contempt in 1871, he then became editor and owner of a newspaper. Gathered from many sources, Benedict materials are here assembled into rather a loose-jointed account, which has the special merit of showing the frontier judiciary's familiar problems varied by the Mexican culture of the southwestern border. Several extensive, useful presentations of Benedict's opinions are inserted as chapters. An appendix contains inaccurate, unserviceable notes on the judge's other opinions, drawn from Volume I of the Gilder-sleeve Reports.

College of St. Thomas

ROBERT P. FOGERTY

THE LIBERTY LINE: THE LEGEND OF THE UNDERGROUND RAILROAD. By *Larry Gara*. (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press. 1961. Pp. ix, 201. \$5.00.) Professor Gara's thesis in *The Liberty Line* is that the generally accepted story of the underground railroad, while based upon fact, is nevertheless largely made up of unverifiable legends and fanciful tales, much of which is wholly fictitious. He proposes to separate the fancy from fact and reveal the underground railroad in its true colors. He maintains that the legend developed before the Civil War in the controversy between abolitionists and slaveholders and was perpetuated and strengthened after the war by the publication of memoirs and reminiscences of abolitionists, unreliable local histories, partisan political oratory, popular newspaper stories, and fiction, not the least culpable being *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. Professional historians, most of whom have tended to accept the traditional accounts, are also criticized for the perpetuation of the legend. Among the errors that Gara singles out for correction are: the "deep laid" scheme and the highly centralized organization of the railroad; that all abolitionists were united in support of the railroad; the dominance of New England and Quaker leaders in the work; the large number of slaves reputedly spirited away from the South by underground agents; universal opposition of slaveholders to the liberation movement; that the North or Canada was the goal of all fugitives; that the slaves almost as a unit yearned for freedom in the abstract. Gara doubts these assumptions but he does not overthrow them; he merely modifies them. He shows that the movement was locally rather than centrally organized, but New Englanders and Quakers loom large in his own account, and the number of slaves aided in the figures cited was large. Positive contributions, modifying the accepted story, are that freedom to the slave meant freedom from work, that many of them ran away to escape work not to obtain abstract freedom, and that they did not seek a new home in the North. More important, that of the number who did escape many knew little of the abolition movement, but planned their own escape, depended for the most part on their own resources, and "received only minimum help in their

flight from bondage." The author emphasizes the role of the Negro and minimizes that of the abolitionist and Quaker in the work of the underground railroad.

University of North Carolina

FLETCHER M. GREEN

NO COMPROMISE! THE STORY OF THE FANATICS WHO PAVED THE WAY TO THE CIVIL WAR. By *Arnold Whitridge*. (New York: Farrar, Straus and Cudahy. 1960. Pp. 212. \$4.00.) This is in many ways a curious book by a substantial scholar of nineteenth-century European affairs. Why he should have turned to the present field, and in such terms as his gaudy title accurately suggests, is not clear. Several published reviews have assumed that there is a lesson in his book that can help us avoid international catastrophe. The historian's first task is to determine the validity of the research, and Whitridge's has been very meager. What he has read, he has read intelligently, but it has been in surface, secondary accounts, involving ideas that have circulated among scholars. In substance, he blames "fanatics" for having driven "a reluctant people into a war they did not want to fight." How much responsibility can we lay upon Rhett, Yancey, Ruffin, and a few other southerners; upon Garrison, Phillips, Sumner, and Brown, on the other side? The author blames them for having fostered myths about northern and southern conspiracies against one another, but categorically accuses them of having conspired to destroy the Union. Thus, "most southerners" opposed secession, and only the election of a "black Republican" could incite them to take the plunge. "But first, they [the conspirators] must wreck the Democratic party," and this Yancey did with "consummate skill." On the northern side, Garrison "was stifling all projects of emancipation in the Border States," simply by calling slaveholders criminals, while others like him were creating an antisouthern feeling in the North by fighting for the right of petition, by encouraging illusions that slavery could take root in Kansas, and by treating the Dred Scott decision as a conspiracy against northern liberties. Whitridge's assumptions are too numerous to detail; the above may suggest that some of them, at least, are questionable. That he does not care for "fanatics" is a personal matter. That he thinks well of Stephen A. Douglas, approves the Clay Compromise, and believes that the Gag Rule did not threaten constitutional guarantees and that peaceful secession was possible as well as preferable to civil war are clear. What is unreal is his belief that Americans, the leaders as well as the followers, were deceived by a few orators. What is somewhat alarming is his belief that free speech is dangerous, that Americans cannot afford information on public issues. The old belief that Garrison can be ridiculed as bizarre and insignificant and denounced for having led the North, somehow, into a war still persists in Whitridge's pages. Nor is the lesson for "today" clear. Ought we to resign our beliefs in the interests of peace? Must we respect Americans with foreign principles in order to ensure international peace? It is my conviction that only a firm regard for the realities of the issues involved, the details of the events, can possibly serve us.

Antioch College

LOUIS FILLER

THE ATTITUDE OF TENNESSEANS TOWARD THE UNION, 1847-1861. By *Mary Emily Robertson Campbell*. (New York: Vantage Press. 1961. Pp. 308. \$4.50.) This study reveals that the major political parties were delicately balanced in the Volunteer State in the decade and a half prior to the Civil War, that expansionism was a powerful and often predominant influence in both the Democratic and Whig folds, that national issues periodically overrode state issues in the elections, that middle Tennessee served as a balance wheel between the other two sections, and that until the Fort Sumter episode and Lincoln's call for troops Tennesseans were willing to "accept any compromise which would insure the preservation of the Union and guarantee what they

considered their rights. . . ." The vote of February 9, 1861, decisively rejecting a convention to consider relations with the Union, was reversed by the June 8 referendum in which the people approved by more than two-to-one the legislative declaration of independence of late April. The really significant change of sentiment occurred among the middle Tennesseans who apparently had abandoned their last desperate hope of joining with other border states to bring peace between the North and the lower South. The research for this volume has been extensive and intensive, and the appendixes contain much valuable and sometimes difficult to locate information. Too much statistical material has been presented in the first chapter which defines the position and rank of Tennessee in the Union, and nearly all percentages given are wrong—in computing per cent of increase the figures for 1860 rather than those for 1850 are used as bases. A good editor could have made this a much better book.

Indiana University

CHASE C. MOONEY

POWDER RIVER CAMPAIGNS AND SAWYERS EXPEDITION OF 1865: A DOCUMENTARY ACCOUNT COMPRISING OFFICIAL REPORTS, DIARIES, CONTEMPORARY NEWSPAPER ACCOUNTS, AND PERSONAL NARRATIVES. Edited with introductions and notes by *LeRoy R.* and *Ann W. Hafen.* [The Far West and the Rockies Historical Series, 1820–1875, Volume XII.] (Glendale, Calif.: Arthur H. Clark Company. 1961. Pp. 386. \$12.00 prepaid.) In the closing years of the Civil War, Indian attacks upon western communication lines reached a peak, and in 1865 the decision was made to launch a three-pronged punitive expedition to the Powder River country. This volume contains the records of that operation and of the wagon road survey conducted at the same time. Some are taken from the official reports of the War Department, others from the publications of the state historical societies of Nebraska and Wyoming, and one, the diary of Captain B. F. Rockafellow, appears for the first time. These documents tell the tragic story of inefficiency and bungling, the mutiny of the Sixteenth Kansas Regiment, the starvation that caused troops to eat the raw flesh of exhausted horses as they fell, the gruesome fact that there was no medical officer with a higher grade than hospital steward in one prong of the expedition. These sources constitute the social history of an unsuccessful campaign in an obscure war that affected no decisions on Indian-white relations.

Wisconsin State College, River Falls

WALKER D. WYMAN

THE BLUE AND THE GRAY ON THE NILE. By *William B. Hesselstine* and *Hazel C. Wolf.* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1961. Pp. xi, 289. \$5.00.) This is a story of American officers who, helped or hindered by the troops they tried to train, prepared coastal defenses, won and lost battles, explored rivers, and discovered lakes in the service of Egypt's Ismail Pasha during the 1870's. The African failures and successes of Charles Pomeroy Stone and other Union and Confederate veterans lend themselves to legend and romance as well as to history. While adventure and charm abound in the volume, the narrative is as accurate as it is colorful. The only serious mistake in the book involves the omission of numbers from the so-called notes, and the bunching of references in such a way as to muddle the citation process. Perpetration of so obvious an outrage by a university press can scarcely be justified on any ground, including that of economy. Let it be said, however, that in this instance the authors' literary achievements more than compensate for the publisher's blunder. In the unforgettable cast of characters are the bold and ingenious Charles Chaillé-Long, who was mistaken for a centaur in Uganda, and the uninhibited Miss Mary Lee, daughter of Robert E. Lee, who "wouldn't sit down at the same table with General Grant to save his life." There are also princes, beys, and pashas aplenty; an assortment of khedieval flunkies; the radiant

Empress Eugénie of France; the fabulous "Chinese" Gordon; the pygmy woman who was purchased for a yard of red cotton cloth, and the natives of Gondokoro who anointed themselves with cow dung as a protection against mosquitoes. Religion, education, the ivory trade, the slave trade, ophthalmia, chills and fever, cowardice, redemption of honor, and yearning for freedom give the spice of variety to kaleidoscopic problems. Strange, pathetic, humorous episodes and intelligent interpretations are so prevalent that the reader who opens *The Blue and the Gray on the Nile* may be assured of an artistic and scholarly treat.

University of Kentucky

HOLMAN HAMILTON

SPOTTED TAIL'S FOLK: A HISTORY OF THE BRULÉ SIOUX. By *George E. Hyde*. [The Civilization of the American Indian Series, Number 57.] (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1961. Pp. xix, 329. \$5.00.) With this seventh major volume on the Indians of the northern High Plains, George E. Hyde continues his scholarly and penetrating study of the Sioux and their neighbors. In the present work he combines a history of the Brulé Sioux with a sympathetic biography of Chief Spotted Tail whom he considers the outstanding leader of these people. Forced by an indifferent and careless government to accept the white man's civilization almost overnight, the Brulé rebelled against farming the reservation land, herding cattle, sending their children to school, and adopting Christianity. Some of them followed the war trail of the "Morose and Savage" Crazy Horse, a "Primitive man of Action" who hated the whites, but did "not seem to have considered the interest of his people once." Others, like Chief Red Cloud, also opposed the federal government at first, but eventually learned to respect and fear the great father in Washington. Unlike these two chieftains, Spotted Tail very early espoused the cause of the Brulé by working peacefully, diplomatically, and successfully with the various agents and federal officials. With dignity and affability, with views carefully thought out and well expressed, he was able to unite his people, win the lands and supplies that they all wanted, and at the same time courageously oppose corrupt officials. In 1881 this "ablest chief the Sioux ever had" was murdered by a jealous sub-chief, and the Little Missouri Sioux, Winter Count, said: "This year that brave and wonderful chief was killed by Crow Dog." The book reads easily, has an excellent format, and is based on a solid and extensive bibliography; it contributes generously to the history of the Plains Indians.

Salt Lake City, Utah

BRIGHAM D. MADSEN

LOUIS HOUCK: MISSOURI HISTORIAN AND ENTREPRENEUR. By *William T. Doherty, Jr.* [University of Missouri Studies, Volume XXXIII.] (Columbia: University of Missouri Press. 1960. Pp. xi, 153. \$3.50.) Because we have waited fifty years for a biography of Louis Houck, the present scholarly study will be widely appreciated. It meets the requirements of sound research, clear presentation, and good organization of material, and contains a full bibliography, a valuable map and appendix, and an excellent index. The author has succeeded in describing the varied career of Houck so well that the book resembles a novel. Houck was a character, and the stories of him and his work are unusual and salty. As a builder of five hundred miles of short-line railroads in Missouri's Bootheel, as a successful supporter of a state college, and as a lawyer who matched wits with the legal advisers of Jay Gould, Louis Houck was the pride and hero, if not always the joy, of Cape Girardeau and of his section of Missouri. He was a lusty and skillful fighter who loved the courtroom. The author describes well his canny legal tactics and is most objective in evaluating his success. Gould once told Houck, "you are a d— poor railroad man, but a d— fine lawyer." I confess disappointment in the twelve-page chapter, ". . . the Making of a State Historian." A more adequate treatment of

our outstanding Missouri historian is merited. More research on the permanent and important contributions of Houck, the unselfish and scholarly historian, remains to be done.

State Historical Society of Missouri

FLOYD C. SHOEMAKER

HAMILTON HOLT: JOURNALIST, INTERNATIONALIST, EDUCATOR. By *Warren F. Kuehl*. (Gainesville: University of Florida Press. 1960. Pp. xi, 303. \$7.50.) This full-length biography is most valuable for its treatment of the American environment in which Hamilton Holt lived and worked from 1872 to 1951. Here also is a good example of a vigorous and idealistic American working arduously for a number of causes whose fame must not be measured by the degree of their success. The biographer does not claim too much for his subject nor does he spare him criticism. At the age of twenty-two Holt joined the staff of *The Independent*. He became the owner in 1912, made it an organ for the expression of diversified opinion with a reform emphasis, and attracted many able contributors. But he opposed the changes necessary to keep the magazine abreast of new trends in journalism. Early he gave his major interest to the movement for world peace through international organization, beginning to write on the subject in 1903. He supported Woodrow Wilson in the war and blamed him for the failure of the League of Nations in the United States. He helped to form nearly a dozen organizations to support the League by 1923, only to meet defeat, but never entirely gave up his interest. Since his college days he had been critical of American higher education, declaring it a failure. In 1925 he became president of Rollins College at Winter Park, Florida, and experimented with a number of plans to bring teacher and student closer together in the learning process. Teachers and students were unwilling to go as far as he wished. Foundations and accrediting associations withheld approval of his innovations. Two depressions and another world war ruined his money-raising campaigns. But he left his mark on Rollins as he had upon journalism and the movement for world organization.

University of Miami

CHARLTON W. TEBEAU

JOHN COIT SPOONER: DEFENDER OF PRESIDENTS. By *Dorothy Ganfield Fowler*. (New York: University Publishers. 1961. Pp. ix, 436. \$6.00.) John Coit Spooner, who served as senator from Wisconsin for some sixteen years at the turn of the century, was such a powerful force in national legislation that the *New York Times* called his record "never surpassed" in "practical efficiency and historical importance." It was a frankly conservative record, and in the Fifty-fifth Congress, as the great conflict between progressives and standpatters began to take shape after 1896, Spooner, Platt, Allison, and Aldrich were known as the "Big Four" of conservatism. The Wisconsin-born author of this volume, who is professor of history at Hunter College, has set herself the task of reappraising the career and contributions of this once well-known political figure. Spooner's ill fortune was that he came to power as a conservative when the pendulum of history was swinging the other way. He had no sympathy for the liberalizing trend of his era, and little understanding of what made progressives and reformers tick. His archfoe in Wisconsin, Bob La Follette, Spooner considered a thoroughly dangerous man, with "overwhelming qualities of malice, conceit, effrontery, impudence, and general cussedness," and he fought vigorously against La Follette and all others like him. One of the results was that he was singled out for attention by Lincoln Steffens and appeared in uncomplimentary terms in David Graham Phillips' famous "muckraking" series on the Senate in 1906. Yet Spooner, as Dr. Fowler points out, was no "cowardly conservative." He had deep belief in certain things, and he was willing to stand up and be counted for them. A railroad attorney who worked his way up by sheer ability in both

business and politics, he found everything he believed in threatened by the La Follettes and Norrises of the time, and by the Populists, Silverites, Insurgents, and the like who surged into politics after 1900. He was a strong supporter of Harrison and McKinley, and curiously enough of Theodore Roosevelt, in whom he found much to admire. His political genius lay in his ability for modification and compromise. "Spooner amendments," or "Spooner compromises," were familiar terms in Senate parlance from 1897 to 1907 and were attached to such important pieces of legislation as the Sherman Anti-Trust Act, the Interstate Commerce Act, and the Pure Food and Drug Act. Because of the Spooner Amendment, Theodore Roosevelt was able to buy the Panama Canal route. Dr. Fowler has done an excellent job of presenting the attitudes and principles of a representative, intelligent, conservative thinker in an age of reform and ferment. Spooner was a man of integrity and purpose who believed in the sanctity of profit, the gospel of wealth, and a minimum of regulation with a maximum of individual responsibility. We have had many studies of the progressives and reformers who were his contemporaries, and this study will do much to help balance the picture.

Michigan State University

RUSSEL B. NYE

DE WILSON À ROOSEVELT: POLITIQUE EXTÉRIEURE DES ÉTATS-UNIS, 1913-1945. By *Jean-Baptiste Duroselle*. [Collection "Sciences politiques."] (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin. 1960. Pp. 494.) Given the purpose of the author, this is an impressive and encouraging performance, impressive in its handling of the extensive secondary literature on recent American diplomacy, encouraging in its evidence of a growing French interest in United States history. The forty-four-year-old Duroselle is director of a center for the study of international relations in the Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques in Paris. He has visited this country frequently and has taught at Harvard, Brandeis, and Notre Dame Universities. He has already published two substantial books, one on the beginnings of social Catholicism in France from 1822 to 1870, the other a general diplomatic survey from 1919 to 1957. An excellent linguist, he writes with vigor and clarity. Duroselle divided his fifteen chapters into three unequal parts. The first six deal with Wilson's new diplomacy and its defeat from 1913 to 1921. The next three cover the return to nationalism from 1921 to 1933. The last six are devoted to the Roosevelt era from 1933 to 1945. Save for a thought-provoking conclusion, the treatment closes with Roosevelt's death. The volume also contains a helpful introduction and a twenty-eight-page bibliographical essay. Footnotes are employed chiefly for quotations and statistics. The narrative and analysis rest entirely on printed materials. No manuscripts, personal or archival, have been used, and most of the primary sources cited are of the memoir variety. References to the *Foreign Relations* series and other major documentary collections are conspicuously absent. On the other hand, the author has drawn upon the best secondary works with discrimination and intelligence. On some topics, to be sure, he is handicapped by the lack of scholarly books. In some places, such as categorizing individuals as internationalists or pro-Germans, he is guilty of oversimplification. But it would be ungracious and misleading to quibble over those defects, over the organization and allocation of space, or over the numerous typographical errors that crop up inevitably when most names and titles appear in a foreign language. Rather we should be grateful that a Frenchman has provided his countrymen with a balanced, reliable, and up-to-date interpretation, one that attempts to probe equally the basic forces and the outstanding men that have shaped American foreign policy in its transition from isolationism to world leadership. And the questions he raises in the conclusion about the nature of that policy might well provoke similar reflections on this side of the Atlantic.

Northwestern University

RICHARD W. LEOPOLD

OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD, LIBERAL OF THE 1920's. By *D. Joy Humes*. [Men and Movements Series.] (Syracuse, N. Y.: Syracuse University Press. 1960. Pp. xiii, 276. \$4.50.) This biographical essay contends that "liberalism was not in total eclipse" during the 1920's; "that it was energetically and courageously expounded and defended if only by a handful of men, of whom Oswald Garrison Villard was one"; and that the career of Villard, editor of *The Nation* from 1918-1932, provided one link between progressivism and the New Deal. The protagonist appears as one devoted to the old causes of reform, moved by "moral indignation" with pressing social evils, convinced that an intelligent ordering of society (social engineering) was both desirable and possible, committed to humanistic individualism and libertarianism. Villard enlisted in the battle to preserve and extend civil liberties—freedom of expression for all, freedom of opportunity and first-class citizenship for racial and religious minorities. A political independent, Villard hopefully worked for the creation of a third, truly liberal, party, and voted for Debs in 1920, La Follette in 1924, Smith in 1928 (solely on religious grounds), and Thomas in 1932 (in the belief that FDR was neither strong nor liberal). With other liberals in the postwar decade, Villard opposed restrictive immigration legislation, fought government benevolences to the business community, sought programs of state action designed to regulate social abuses and enlarge economic security. He scorned the granting of government subsidies to special interest groups, whether tariff protection for business, price pegging for agriculture, or bonuses for veterans. He applauded public ownership of electric power utilities and natural resources. International cooperation, disarmament, and pacifism were crusades dear to his heart. Miss Humes portrays Villard as an old-line liberal, humanitarian, and libertarian, as one who embodied the best of an older tradition (individualistic, rationalistic, and tolerant) while anticipating the newer (pragmatic and experimental). An interpretive biographical essay, this book is written with clarity, commendable precision, and brevity. The author's failure to cite specific references for her quotations from Villard's published writings and manuscript collection weakens an otherwise delightful and helpful monograph. Miss Humes's study is an able contribution to a needed re-evaluation of the 1920's.

University of Minnesota

CLARKE A. CHAMBERS

KONGRESS PROIZVODSTVENNYKH PROFSOIUZOV SShA 1935-1955 (IZ ISTORII AMERIKANSKOGO RABOCHEGO DVIZHENIIA) [The CIO in the USA 1935-1955 (From the History of the American Labor Movement)]. By *B. Ia. Mikhailov*. (Moscow: Academy of Sciences Press for the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, Institute of History. 1959. Pp. 626. 25 rubles, 80 kopecks.) This book starts with the proposition that "for the author the position of the Communist Party of the USA was of great significance with respect to the basic problems examined, for the political line of this party, notwithstanding past mistakes, is the main line of the foremost political party of the proletariat." Remaining faithful to this ideal, the author has produced a history of the CIO as seen through the eyes of American Communist leaders. His facts and interpretations are derived mainly from the publications of the US Communist party and from the writings of William Z. Foster and others of the party faithful. Though he used the *New York Times*, the *CIO News*, and much other non-Communist literature, the character of the work would not have been substantially different had he dispensed with them entirely. Anyone familiar with the events of the period can only shake his head in wonder at the consistency with which the author has managed to distort facts and to misuse statistics. (Incidentally, criticism of the quality of American statistics comes with particularly poor grace from a Russian.) It is also time that Russian historians realized that the cause of scholarship is not advanced by the use of invective. The failure of the American worker to follow the leadership of the Communist party

is ascribed to three factors typifying the level of the analysis employed: the influence within the trade-unions of the high paid workers, "the aristocracy of labor"; the positions held by "reactionary leaders" in the command posts of the major trade-unions; and most important, the influence of "monopoly, the state, the church and other antidemocratic organizations, using the reactionary clique of CIO leaders." This volume is a sad commentary on the current state of Soviet historical writing. There is not the slightest pretense at objectivity or any evidence of an effort to understand the political, social, and economic factors that produced the CIO and led to a major transformation of American society. It does not augur well for the cause of peaceful coexistence that this kind of thing is offered to Russian readers under the imprimatur of the leading historical research institute of the USSR. Crude, ideological writing is not lacking in the United States, but we do not ordinarily dignify it by publication under respectable scholarly auspices.

University of California, Berkeley

WALTER GALENSON

THE ORDNANCE DEPARTMENT: PROCUREMENT AND SUPPLY. By *Harry C. Thomson* and *Lida Mayo*. [U. S. Army in World War II: The Technical Services.] (Washington, D. C.: Office of the Chief of Military History, Department of the Army. 1960. Pp. xix, 504. \$4.00.) This volume, second in a series of three on the Ordnance Department in World War II, presents the fascinating story of one of the truly great service achievements of the war. The procurement story is told in the first fifteen chapters, which cover planning, requirements, and production, with individual chapters on major items such as artillery, small arms, ammunition, tanks, and motor vehicles. The tremendous scope of the program is indicated by the fact that between 1940 and 1945, production of major items amounted to 519,031 pieces of artillery with 942,037,000 rounds of ammunition, 12,670,117 rifles and 2,679,819 machine guns with 41,788,593,000 rounds of ammunition, and 88,410 tanks. The emphasis given in these chapters to the early war period is a logical reflection of the fact that between July 1940 and July 1942 Ordnance received \$31,000,000,000, or three-fourths of all Ordnance appropriations during the 1940-1945 period. This great outpouring of matériel, however, created new problems for the Ordnance Field Service, which was responsible for storage, stock control, distribution, and maintenance. These are the subjects of the next seven chapters, and, as might be expected, emphasis is on the period 1943-1945. The complex problems of storage of general supplies (including spare parts), managing the flow of matériel to the ports, and maintaining stock levels under proper controls are skillfully handled, as are the relations of Ordnance with the Army Service Forces and other services. This is an exceptionally well-written and objective book. The authors have not hesitated to point out the mistakes of the Ordnance Department as well as its achievements. Serious students of military supply management will find here a veritable treasure in the discussions of the nature and solution of literally hundreds of wartime ordnance problems. The general reader, too, will find this an interesting account; for those who frequently wonder how the United States ever manages to win a war, this book should be a revelation.

Bethesda, Maryland

O. J. CLINARD

THE CHEMICAL WARFARE SERVICE: FROM LABORATORY TO FIELD. By *Leo P. Brophy et al.* [U. S. Army in World War II: The Technical Services.] (Washington, D. C.: Office of the Chief of Military History, Department of the Army. 1959. Pp. xviii, 498. \$3.50.) In 1959 the first of three volumes on the contributions of the Chemical Warfare Service in World War II appeared; it was devoted to organization and training. Now the second volume describes the development and procurement

of supplies, both offensive and defensive. It competently discusses research, industrial procurement, and storage problems and the solutions reached. Though this record is important in filling a gap in our published wartime history, it is not generally exciting enough to induce reading by the general public or the "common soldier," yet it pictures the performance of essential tasks. Unfortunately, aside from flame throwers, incendiaries, and smokes, much of the work of the CWS was in preparation for a war that did not develop, but was always just around the corner—and how soldiers did hate those gas masks! One of the few weaknesses of this volume is that it is repetitively apologetic. Another weakness, no doubt due to the subject matter, is lack of continuity. There are also more misprints than in most of the World War II histories, especially in the chart on page four hundred. I do not remember a CW section in most company headquarters. On the other hand, against these minor criticisms should be mentioned the fine comparisons with enemy (German, Italian, Japanese) weapons, the honesty of admitting the confusion and even illegalities that at times existed, and the sincere acknowledgment of civilian contributions in many lines. It should be added that here is a contribution not only to history but also in part, especially Chapter XII, to economics.

Indiana University

H. FABIAN UNDERHILL

THE WEST INDIES FEDERATION: PERSPECTIVES ON A NEW NATION. Edited by *David Lowenthal*. [American Geographical Society Research Series Number 23.] (New York: Columbia University Press in cooperation with the American Geographical Society and Carleton University. 1961. Pp. viii, 142. \$3.00.) Two themes run through the four essays of this introduction to the West Indies Federation and the British Caribbean generally: there is the insistent note that the federation must achieve economic independence if its new political freedom is to have real meaning; there is accent on the diversity and disunity of British West Indian peoples and their institutions. Perhaps airplanes will bridge the sea that separates the constituent states, but can the West Indians overcome the gulfs between sharply differentiated elements of race, class, and culture? H. W. Springer, a Jamaican educator, contributes the most general and optimistic chapter in his "Problems and Prospects." Gordon Merrill, a Canadian geographer, provides a rather sketchy and unsatisfying treatment of the region's history. Douglas G. Anglin, a Canadian political scientist, ably surveys the recent political developments in the area. And David Lowenthal, an American geographer, concludes with a wholly admirable summary of "The Social Background." Intended for the general reader, this book is not at most points supported by specific references to authorities, but the bibliography is lengthy, comprehensive of various disciplines, and well selected. Although the authors are seemingly harmonious in their viewpoints and on common ground, they have not attempted to give the readers any joint conclusions. Essentially a collection of four separate articles, and these more factual than interpretive, the work is not in any sense a symposium. In most cases the authors take a "problem approach" to the neglect of historical perspective. This book has the advantage of a superior bibliography and a more up-to-date coverage of events, but historians will probably continue to prefer W. L. Burn's *British West Indies* as an equally brief but less "present-minded" introduction.

University of Texas

J. HARRY BENNETT, JR.

ALEXANDER MACKENZIE: CLEAR GRIT. By *Dale C. Thomson*. (Toronto: Macmillan Company; distrib. by St Martin's Press, New York. 1960. Pp. vii, 436. \$8.00.) A notable gap in the still short but growing list of readable, scholarly biographies of nineteenth-century Canadian political leaders has been filled with the publication of this study of the self-made Scottish stonemason and contractor who became the Dominion's

first Liberal Prime Minister. Professor Thomson, making good use of such recently available collections as the Mackenzie, Brown, and Dufferin papers, has provided a sympathetic and, on the whole, well-balanced picture of the man whom many students of Canadian history have tended to regard, in the words of one recent survey, as "utterly honest and utterly unglamorous." The author does not make his subject glamorous. He does present more of the human side of a politician who has long been overshadowed by the engaging figure of his great opponent, Sir John A. Macdonald, by his close friend and hard-hitting fellow Scot, George Brown, and by Edward Blake, his brilliant if unstable successor as Liberal leader. Mackenzie's role in the strife-torn Liberal party of the period just before and after Confederation, in Confederation itself, and in the many problems of his ill-starred term as Prime Minister emerges clearly as do his fundamental courage and fighting qualities. The reader also gets a better appreciation of Mackenzie's contribution to Canada's growing status within the Empire, little mentioned in other accounts of the period. Both the author's extensive research in contemporary party sources and his practical experience in politics as secretary to Prime Minister Louis St. Laurent lend authority to his discussion of the controversial issues of late nineteenth-century Canadian political history. The fact that the book is written against such a background, however, creates some pitfalls for the nonspecialist, since many episodes like the Pacific scandal and the Riel Rebellions are of necessity seen through quite partisan Liberal eyes. A good corrective is Creighton's *Macdonald*, or perhaps a more neutral general account of such questions. This book will be, along with *Careless' Brown*, a major source for the history of the Canadian Liberal party as well as for Canadian politics generally.

University of Maine

ALICE R. STEWART

ACOTACIONES BOLIVARIANAS: DECRETOS MARGINALES DEL LIBERTADOR (1813-1830). [Edición conmemorativa del Sesquicentenario de la Independencia de Venezuela.] (Caracas: Fundación John Boulton. 1960. Pp. xx, 323.) A most appropriate commemorative volume for the sesquicentennial of Venezuelan independence, this is an extensive selection of memorials, memoranda, petitions, and similar items addressed to Bolívar. His decisions and solutions respecting them are written in the margins. The letters cover messages from distinguished historical figures like Santander, Páez, and Flores, and those from people of the most humble conditions. Quite a number come from members of the British Legion or its survivors. These letters represent the needs and aspirations of the people. They also indicate through the marginal notes the way in which Bolívar tried to remedy those needs and to fulfill those aspirations. They give much evidence of his penetrating social sensibilities and pragmatic ideas of governing. For the reader's purpose the book's format leaves little to be desired. The historian, however, might question why the letters to the Liberator are put in italics and his answers in bold-face type. It is very obvious, moreover, that the documents are not copied exactly, but are put into modern Spanish, for there are no mistakes about accents (always in the right places) and there are no abbreviations such as were commonly used in those days. As might be expected Bolívar's name is always in capital letters.

University of Colorado

FRITZ L. HOFFMANN

EL BANCO DE AVÍO DE MÉXICO: EL FOMENTO DE LA INDUSTRIA, 1821-1846. By Robert A. Potash. Translated by Ramón Fernández y Fernández. [Sección de Obras de Economía.] (México, D. F.: Fondo de Cultura Económica. 1959. Pp. 281.) Mexico emerged from its revolution in 1821 bankrupt, depressed, internally chaotic, but ambitious for improvement. Capital had either fled the country or gone

into hiding. The little venture money remaining tended to go into the traditional mines. Forward-looking Mexicans led by Lucas Alamán decided that only by government intervention could capital be obtained for the industrial development they thought necessary. The *Banco de Avío*, capitalized at one million pesos to be secured from customs receipts, was wrangled through Congress and started business during the Bustamante regime in 1830. Its major interest was lending money to established textile industries for improvement and expansion, or creating new mills, primarily for production of cotton textiles. The bank suffered from the general ills that devastated all Mexico during the period. Chronic revolution overturned the responsible treasury officials, pledged capital was diverted to the military, politicians sometimes justifiably interfered with operations, the governing junta corruptly extended loans to its own members. Santa Anna looted its capital and killed the institution by decree in 1842. But with all its difficulties, it had succeeded in expanding some existing cotton mills and founding new ones that survived the bank itself. The author has used good sources with discrimination and ability; copious footnotes and an extensive bibliography should satisfy the most demanding of Mexicanists. The organization of his main subject is excellent; tables and appendixes lend clarity to the text. There is no index. Potash demonstrates his thesis that government intervention proved necessary to start the wheels of industry rolling, and his *Banco de Avío* is a neat case study. But the secondary theme, the general industrial development of the country under government sponsorship, is necessarily somewhat skimpy. Personalities, revolutions, and politics have long dominated this period of Mexican history. The author has added authoritative economic knowledge to the age of *Santanismo* and is to be commended.

University of Houston

JACK A. HADDICK

THE CONDUCT OF THE CHACO WAR. By *David H. Zook, Jr.* Preface by *Pablo Max Ynsfran*. Foreword by *Charles W. Arnade*. (New York: Bookman Associates. 1960. Pp. 280. \$6.00.) Landlocked and thirsting for water, the Bolivian condor turned upon what he considered to be his weakest neighbor, Paraguay. This was a serious miscalculation, however, for the Guaranís were stubbornly disposed to fight to the last man for the area north of the Pilcomayo River, so vital to their security and economy. As chauvinists exacerbated the climate of opinion and the rivals glared at each other from installations in the Chaco during the 1920's, conditions were ripe for the spark that ignited the conflagration. From 1932 to 1935 nearly a hundred thousand men died to prove their country's point. The military victory went to Paraguay because of her shorter lines of communication and the genius of José Félix Estigarribia, a master of defensive warfare who appreciated and exploited the peculiar conditions of the Chaco. On the other side, Bolivians blundered at every turn. Politicians were economy-minded and at odds with the military; the General Command misused air power, failed to recognize the importance of water, and suffered insubordination from junior officers. General Hans Kundt proved especially inept. In this impartial survey of the Chaco War, as definitive as one will ever find, Captain Zook concerns himself primarily with the military conduct of the war, weaving into the narrative the germane diplomatic and political aspects. He has not overlooked any documents, however biased, and has carefully sifted the facts from them. On occasion, the style suffers from a "tight" organization required by the complex subject matter, but, generally, it is eminently readable. Bolivians may consider the author's presentation favorable to Paraguay; the facts, however, speak for themselves. Estigarribia's stature has been permanently cast by this work and with justification. All libraries should welcome this book, a brilliant contribution to the military history of modern Latin America.

University of Arizona

MARIO RODRÍGUEZ

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¹ The lists of articles are compiled by the section editors whose names appear. The listed books are those received by the *Review* between April 15 and July 15, 1961, which are not to be reviewed.

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* * * * *Historical News* * * * *

EDITORIAL*

George Washington and Foreign Policy

George Washington remains above attempts to pull him down to hillock size. The latest line of downgrading the Father of his Country is in foreign policy. He is presented as a slow-minded, bewildered President, led by Alexander Hamilton who subordinated to partisan advantage of the few against the many the best interests of the new nation in its diplomatic relations with Europe. In short, Washington, after accepting both Hamilton and Jefferson in a policy of neutrality vis-à-vis the wars of the French Revolution, next decided in favor of Hamilton and the Federalists and proceeded to ratify Jay's barely tolerable treaty of 1794 with Great Britain as the best means of liberating the Northwest Territory from British occupation and keeping out of Europe's war. Interestingly enough nobody has ever complained about the other principal treaty of Washington's administration, liberating the Southwest Territory from Spanish garrisons, signed by Thomas Pinckney at San Lorenzo in 1795 and ratified unanimously by the United States Senate. And finally, were not Jefferson and the Republican leaders, during their opposition to President Washington and their zeal for the French Revolution, politicians equally crafty with Hamilton and the high Federalists?

Today's critics of Washington's foreign policy might recall that President Jefferson, when in power and office, straightway proclaimed the Great Rule of Washington's Farewell Address: peace, commerce, and honest friendship with all nations, entangling alliances with none. He and Secretary of State Madison even tried in 1806 to make another treaty with England similar to the expired maritime articles of Jay's Treaty.

Slow-minded perhaps, but sure-minded! Who else could have done what General George Washington did for his country? Let us, in our research, writing, and teaching, look at his policy as a whole. It embodied nothing less than the winning of independence, establishment of the national government and the territorial integrity of the United States, and finally the proclamation of a basic foreign policy that stood the nation in good stead for over a century. He still stands in American history like Pike's Peak in the front range of the Rocky Mountains, towering serenely above the minor peaks that shoulder him right and left.

SAMUEL FLAGG BEMIS

*In this issue the *Review* begins a policy of presenting a one-page editorial of historical nature. The editorials will be short and written by historians representing different points of view.

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The Association meeting for 1961, as has been announced, will be held at the Shoreham and Sheraton Park Hotels, Washington, D. C., December 28-30.

Walter Rundell, Jr., of Texas Woman's University, has been named assistant executive secretary. He will, among his duties, be in charge of the Service Center for Teachers of History.

The American Historical Association will offer a biennial prize (beginning in 1962) of \$500 in the legal history of the American colonies and of the United States to the year 1900. The prize, named the Littleton-Griswold Prize in Legal History, will be given for the best published study in legal history (not legal brief) either in article or book form. The studies will be judged on the scholarly contribution to legal history. They must not exceed 150,000 words. Three copies of the study must be submitted to the Chairman of the Littleton-Griswold Committee by June 1 of the year in which the award is to be made. The Committee reserves the right to withhold the prize or to divide it.

The Committee will also consider proposals for the editing and publication of legal records of the American colonies and of the United States through the year 1820. Those interested should write to Judge Edward Dumbauld through the office of the Association.

The Asia Foundation has again given the Association the sum of \$2,500 to provide membership in the Association and subscriptions to the *American Historical Review* for Asian historians residing in Asia and to offer travel grants to Asian historians studying in the United States on graduate and postdoctoral levels to enable them to attend Association meetings.

LIBRARIES AND ARCHIVES

The Library of Congress has received about six thousand papers of John Archer Lejeune (1867-1942) from his daughters, Laura and Eugenia Lejeune. They contain valuable biographical materials, files of General Lejeune's speeches and articles, and correspondence covering the years 1893-1942. The last reflects his long career in the United States Marines, during which he served in the Spanish-American War and World War I and as commander of the Marine Corps (1920-1929), and his later service as superintendent of the Virginia Military Institute.

The Library has received also approximately 23,000 papers of Minnie Maddern Fiske (1865-1932), famous American actress, as a gift of Miss Olive Kookien. Correspondence, playbills, promptbooks, photographs, and related materials give a vivid picture of the American theater from the post-Civil War years to about 1930. American artist George Biddle has presented approximately two thousand of his papers to the Library. These consist largely of correspondence with notable persons in various fields and include also exchanges relating to murals in public buildings and a series of sketchbooks. James Michener has added some seven thousand pieces to his papers in the Library, including manuscripts of articles on widely varying subjects, the manuscript of his book on *Japanese Prints*, and about

five thousand pieces of correspondence, 1954-1955 and 1959-1960, some of it with his publishers and producers and with fans and critics.

Among recent accessions of the National Archives are records of the Office of the Administrator, Agricultural Research Administration, 1942-1953, concerning the policies, problems, and results of the major scientific research programs of the Department of Agriculture; records of the Office of the Secretary of the Department of the Interior, 1917-1959, including office files of Oscar L. Chapman, 1933-1953, as Assistant Secretary, Undersecretary, and Secretary of the Interior, records of the program staff, 1947-1953, which assisted the Secretary in formulating and implementing policies and programs of the Department, and records of the Office of Land Utilization; the central files of the National Institutes of Health and their predecessors, 1915-1951; and selected labor-management dispute mediation case files of the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service, 1948-1954, selected because of their importance or their representative nature.

The National Archives has published a detailed catalogue of an exhibit entitled *United States Scientific Geographical Exploration of the Pacific Basin, 1783-1899*, consisting largely of reproductions of documents in the National Archives.

Among microfilm publications recently completed by the National Archives are Records of the Department of State Relating to Internal Affairs of Germany, 1910-1929 (182 rolls); to Internal Affairs of Montenegro and to Political Relations between the United States and Montenegro, 1910-1929 (2 rolls); to Political Relations between the United States and Germany, 1910-1929 (4 rolls), and between Germany and Other States, 1910-1929 (4 rolls); and to Political Relations between Mexico and Other States, 1910-1929 (2 rolls). Also completed are the Compiled Service Records of Confederate Soldiers Who Served in Organizations Raised Directly by the Confederate Government (123 rolls) and of Confederate General Staff Officers and Nonregimental Enlisted Men (275 rolls); the Unfiled Papers and Slips Belonging in Confederate Compiled Service Records (442 rolls); the Compiled Service Records of Volunteer Soldiers Who Served during the Mexican War in Mormon Organizations (3 rolls); the 1960 volume of the Federal Register (7 rolls); the Report Books of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, 1838-1881 (38 rolls); and the Domestic Letters of the Department of State, 1784-1906 (171 rolls). The Miscellaneous Letters Received by the Secretary of the Navy, 1807-1884, have been microfilmed through 1861.

More than eighty pamphlets have been issued describing the contents of individual microfilm publications. Of special significance is the fifty-five-page pamphlet that accompanies the microfilm publication of the Continental Congress Papers, which contains background information on these papers and a detailed description of each of the 204 rolls on which the records have been microfilmed.

The Franklin D. Roosevelt Library has received the papers of the late John Ihlder, executive director of the National Capital Housing Authority from 1934 to 1952. The papers, covering the years 1894-1957, reflect Ihlder's lifelong interests and accomplishments in the fields of low-cost housing and city and regional planning. They relate to almost every aspect of public and civic affairs in the District of Columbia during the past thirty years. There are some 83,000 pages of cor-

respondence and related materials that are open for research. Also received was Ihlder's private library on housing, with emphasis on low-cost public housing in both Europe and the United States.

Manuscripts recently acquired by the Harry S. Truman Library include papers of James E. Webb, representing his service as director of the Bureau of the Budget and Undersecretary of State and other professional activities; John M. Redding, former government official, publicity director of the Democratic National Committee, and author of *Inside the Democratic Party*; Frieda B. Hennock, former member of the Federal Communications Commission; Stanley Andrews, former administrator of the Technical Cooperation Administration; and James Boyd, former director of the Bureau of Mines and Defense Minerals Administrator. These papers will be opened for research after they have been processed by the library staff. Inquiries about access to these and other papers should be addressed to the director of the library.

Grants-in-aid to scholars for research have been issued by the Harry S. Truman Library Institute to eight persons in 1961. Applications for such grants should be sent to the director of the library before October 1 and April 15 of each year.

The Longwood Library, Kennett Square, Pennsylvania, has combined with the Hagley Museum Library to become the Eleutherian Mills Historical Library.

Recent acquisitions of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin include the American Federation of Labor papers, the Michael V. O'Shea papers, additions to the McCormick Collection, and the David C. Everest papers.

The Michigan Historical Collections of the University of Michigan recently acquired papers of G. Mennen Williams and Nancy Quirk Williams. They cover Williams' career from his first gubernatorial campaign through his terms as governor of Michigan.

INTERNATIONAL HISTORICAL ACTIVITIES

The Bureau of the International Congress of Historical Sciences, of which Dr. Boyd C. Shafer is a member, held its annual meeting in Istanbul, Turkey, August 27-29. Preliminary plans for the meeting of the Congress to be held in Vienna in 1965 were a major subject of discussion.

The II Congreso Hispanoamericano de Historia de Cartagena de Indias will be held November 10-16, 1961, in commemoration of the sesquicentennial of the Proclamation of Independence of Cartagena de Indias. The president of the organizing group is Dr. G. Porras Troconis, Palacio de la Inquisición, Cartagena, Colombia.

GRANTS, AWARDS, PRIZES

The Ford Foundation has announced a \$2,300,000 grant to Indiana University, one of a series of grants to American universities to make non-Western studies a part of their permanent academic programs. This grant will provide ten-year support to Russian, East European, and Asian studies at Indiana, and five-year support for its program in international relations and other international studies.

To further the work of its Oral History Research Office, Columbia University has received a grant of \$45,000 from the Carnegie Corporation of New York.

The Wisconsin History Foundation has received a research and publication grant of \$45,000 from the Lilly Endowment, Inc., for the State Historical Society of Wisconsin and the University of Wisconsin to support a three-year program on the history of the American Midwest. The program will cover the period from the Civil War to World War I. For further information, write to Leslie H. Fishel, jr., Director, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison 6, Wisconsin.

The Rockefeller Foundation has awarded research grants to Vincent Ilardi, Paul M. Kendall, Stanley R. Ross, and Donald W. Treadgold. It has also provided funds to permit Herbert Heaton to visit India and assist in the development of historical research.

Among the 1961 recipients of the Ford Foundation's Foreign Area Training Fellowships were the following American and Canadian historians who are interested in Asia, the Near East, the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe, and Africa: David Abosch, Rifaat Ali Abou-El-Haj, Wilson Robert Augustine, Ralph Albert Austen, Robert Louis Barry, Joseph Raymond Barse, Douglas Joseph Bennet, Jr., Martha Ingrid Bohachevsky, Mary R. Borden, George Edward Brooks, Jr., Daniel Roberts Brower, Leon Carl Brown, Spencer Hunter Brown, Judith Ellen Cohen, Robert Owen Crummey, Jack L. Dull, Peter Duus, Harvey Leonard Dyck, George Saul Elison, Marilyn Jane Evans, Gennaro Falconeri, Kenneth Everett Folsom, Noreen Marie Gallagher, Linda Groves Gerstein, Loren Raymond Graham, Vartan Gregorian, James P. Harrison, Jr., Sylvia Grace Hertz, Eugene Frederick Irschick, Harold L. Kahn, Cornelius J. Kiley, David Chapin Kinsey, David I. Kopf, Gerald John Krisinski, Charlton M. Lewis, Alan Saul Lichtenstein, Sanford Raymond Lieberman, William Roger Louis, Stephen Lukashevich, William Ogden McCagg, Jr., James Andrew Malloy, Jr., Maurice J. Meisner, Pauline Dublin Milone, Carol Gayle Moodie, William Fitch Morton, Daniel Michael Mulholland, Elinor Anne Murray, Anthony Graham Netting, Alan Payson Pollard, Don Cravens Price, Kenneth B. Pyle, Helma Repczuk, Don Karl Rowney, Norman Eugene Saul, Stuart Schaar, Irwin Scheiner, John Ernest Schrecker, James Robert Shirley, Allen Aaron Sinel, Mary Frances Ann Somers, Lyman Page Van Slyke, Fred S. Weinstein, Constance Maralyn Wilson, George Macklin Wilson, Robert Albert Wohl, Richard Stuart Wortman, Harrison Morris Wright, Ernest P. Young, Marilyn Blatt Young, and Joseph Frederick Zacek.

The Ford Foundation will award fellowships for graduate training related to Latin America (Mexico, the Caribbean, Central America, and South America) in the social sciences, law, education, and the humanities for the academic year 1962-1963. Applications, which must be received before November 1, 1961, and further information may be obtained from the Secretary, Ford Foundation, Foreign Area Training Fellowships, 477 Madison Avenue (15th Floor), New York 22, New York.

The Social Science Research Council announces the following grants: *Research Training Fellowships*—Richard A. Comfort, Robert R. Dykstra, Gerald D. Feldman, Donald E. Ginter, George Huppert, Eugene C. McCreary, David Rothman, Carroll Smith, Frances Tanikawa, and Stephen A. Thernstrom. *Faculty Research Fellowships*—Robert H. Ferrell, Leon F. Litwack, Edward Lurie, T. J. Oleson, David Roberts, and William L. Sachse. *Grants-in-Aid*—Andreas Dorpalen, Jack D. Forbes, Hans Heilbrunner, Hoh-cheung Mui, Stanley G. Payne, Stanley A. Pierson, Julius W. Pratt, and Bernard A. Weisberger. *Political Theory and Legal Philosophy Fellowships*—Jacques Kornberg.

Grants for Research on Asia, offered jointly by the American Council of Learned Societies and the Social Science Research Council, were awarded to: Donald F. Lach, Robert K. Sakai, Henry Serruys, Burton Stein, Arthur E. Tiedemann, and Stanley A. Wolpert.

The American Council of Learned Societies has awarded grants for research to the following historians: Warren O. Ault, Robert E. Burns, Gordon B. Dodds, Richard S. Dunn, Paul M. Gaston, Leo Gershoj, Edward Grant, Julius W. Pratt, and Frank R. Willis.

ACLS fellowships and grants are designed primarily to advance research. Various awards are of interest to historians.

Fellowship stipends do not exceed seven thousand dollars. Tenure of the fellowships is for a maximum of one year and a minimum of six months. The fellow must be able to devote at least six uninterrupted months to full-time concentration on his project. Awards are intended mainly to provide free time, although amounts for travel, for clerical or research assistance, or for reproduction or purchase of materials are allowed.

Grants-in-Aid are used exclusively to advance a specific program of research in progress by contributing to the payment of the scholar's personal expenses. These expenses may include travel and maintenance away from home necessary to gain access to materials, research or clerical assistance, and reproduction or purchase of materials. Stipends do not exceed two thousand dollars.

Under joint sponsorship of the ACLS and the Social Science Research Council are Grants for Research on Asia, Grants for Slavic and East European Studies (ACLS administration), and Grants on Africa, Contemporary China, Latin America, and the Near and Middle East (SSRC administration).

Applications and further information may be obtained from the American Council of Learned Societies, 345 East 46th Street, New York 17, New York.

The American Association of University Women has awarded fellowships in history to the following: Beverly S. Almgren, Margaret G. Davies, Maureen A. Fennell, Nina G. Garsoian, Gretchen von Loewe Kreuter, Phyllis Seltzer Lachs, Alison Gilbert Olson, Ora-Westley Schwemmer, and Eleanor Millard Searle.

Approximately eighteen travel grants, not to exceed two hundred dollars each, will be awarded by the American Studies Association in cooperation with the Asia Foundation to Asian scholars (senior scholars and graduate students) resident in

the United States who wish to attend the joint sessions of the American Studies Association with the Modern Language Association (December 27-29, Chicago) or the American Historical Association (December 28-30, Washington). Application forms may be obtained from the Executive Secretary, American Studies Association, Box 46 College Hall, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia 4, Pennsylvania.

The Society of American Historians, Inc., has announced that the fourth annual Francis Parkman Prize was awarded to Elting E. Morison for his book *Turmoil and Tradition: The Life of Henry L. Stimson*.

A new annual award, the Allan Nevins Prize for the best-written doctoral dissertation in American history, was presented to Waldo H. Heinrichs, Jr., for his "Joseph C. Grew, 1880-1925." To submit a dissertation for 1961-1962, the sponsoring department should mail one copy of the manuscript together with a letter stating that it has been accepted for the degree to Professor John A. Garraty, Secretary, Society of American Historians, Fayerweather Hall, Columbia University, New York 27, New York.

The Inter-University Committee on Travel Grants is accepting applications from graduate students and scholars who wish to spend all or part of the academic year 1962-1963 engaged in study and research in the Soviet Union as participants in the academic exchange between the United States and the USSR. Further information may be obtained from Stephen Viederman, Deputy Chairman, Inter-University Committee on Travel Grants, 719 Ballantine Hall, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana.

Public senior high school teachers from twenty-six states and the District of Columbia are invited to apply for John Hay Fellowships in 1962-1963. Winners of these awards will study in the humanities for a year at one of the following universities: California, Chicago, Columbia, Harvard, Northwestern, and Yale. They will receive stipends equal to their salaries during the fellowship year plus travel expenses for the fellow and his primary dependents, his tuition, and a health fee. Teachers interested in applying should contact Dr. Charles R. Keller, Director, John Hay Fellows Program, 9 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20, New York, before December 1, 1961.

The Institute for Research in the Humanities of the University of Wisconsin invites applications for two postdoctoral fellowships in the institute during the academic year 1962-1963. The stipend of each fellowship is six thousand dollars. Candidates should have a recently acquired doctor's degree. Application forms will be sent by Marshall Clagett, director, on request.

Laurita and John Hill have received the Albert Marfan *prix* for prose from the Académie des Jeux Floraux for their book *Raymond IV de Saint-Gilles*.

PUBLICATIONS

Since 1954 the Ambrosiana Library in Milan has published a yearly periodical, *Memorie Storiche della Diocesi di Milano*, specializing in the religious history of Italy in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

Anthony H. Forbes is the new editor of the series of parliamentary diaries for the Parliaments of 1624, 1626, and 1628. The editorial board is composed of Hartley Simpson, Wallace Notestein, and Mark H. Curtis. Correspondence and inquiries should be addressed to Dr. Forbes at the Department of History, University of California, Los Angeles 24, California.

OTHER HISTORICAL NEWS

In *Teacher Supply and Demand in Universities, Colleges, and Junior Colleges, 1959-60 and 1960-61*, the National Education Association reports that there were 8,500 full-time teachers of history in universities, colleges, and junior colleges in 1958-1959 and that 11,800 new full-time teachers would be needed from 1959 to 1970.

A 111-year collection of records on juvenile delinquency, the story of the New York House of Refuge, has been loaned to Syracuse University. It contains five hundred volumes, including the case histories of thirty thousand juveniles.

The Upper Midwest History Conference held its spring meeting at the College of St. Thomas, St. Paul, Minnesota. W. Donald Beatty, the conference chairman, presided, and Clarke Chambers read a paper on "Social Reform Movements in in 1920's."

The Social Welfare History Group (previously known as the Committee on the History of Social Welfare) met in Minneapolis at the National Conference on Social Welfare in May and elected the following officers: Gisela Konopka, Chairman; Clarke Chambers, Vice-Chairman; Dorothy Becker, Corresponding Secretary.

The American Military Institute is sponsoring a seminar on the Civil War, November 3-4, at Georgetown University, Washington, D. C. Participants include Rear Admiral John D. Hayes, James D. Atkinson, Wood Gray, Father Joseph T. Durkin, and Rear Admiral Bern Anderson.

PERSONAL

APPOINTMENTS AND STAFF CHANGES*

University of Alaska: George W. Adams named academic vice-president and appointed professor. *Arizona State University*: John A. DeJong and William W. Wootten promoted to assistant professor; Isaac A. Stone appointed lecturer. *Babson Institute*: John B. Black appointed to the staff. *University of Buffalo*: Bradley Chapin and Leo A. Loubère promoted to associate professor, Milton Plesur, to assistant professor; George A. Brubaker appointed assistant professor. *University of California (Berkeley)*: James R. W. Leiby and Richard Abrams appointed to the staff. *University of California (Los Angeles)*: A. O. Sarkissian appointed visiting

*The *Review* prints news of appointments, promotions, retirements, and extended leaves of absence. It does not print news of summer session or completed temporary appointments, leaves of absence of less than a year, or honorary degrees and citations.

lecturer for the first semester, 1961-62; David Moore appointed to the staff. *Canisius College*: Francis J. Walter promoted to associate professor; James S. Valone appointed instructor. *Carleton College*: Richard T. Vann appointed assistant professor. *Cedar Crest College* (Allentown, Pennsylvania): Alice P. Kenney appointed instructor. *Chatham College*: William Rex Savage, Jr., appointed assistant professor. *University of Chicago*: William Hardy McNeill named chairman of the department; Hans J. Morgenthau appointed professor, Maldwyn Jones, visiting associate professor; Michael Cherniavsky appointed to the staff; Daniel J. Boorstin on leave for 1961-62. *Colby College*: David B. Burner appointed to the staff. *Columbia University*: Henry Graff named chairman of the department, Robert Cross, associate chairman; Pichon P. Y. Loh appointed visiting associate professor. *University of Connecticut*: Hugh M. Hamill, Jr., appointed assistant professor. *Cornell University*: Louis Gottschalk named Class of 1916 Visiting Professor of History for the fall term; Richard Graham appointed assistant professor, Robert Benson, visiting associate professor, and John C. Cairns, visiting associate professor for the spring term; Edward W. Fox and Brian Tierney on leave for 1961-62.

University of Delaware: Marshall Knappen named H. Fletcher Brown Professor of History and Government, and Edith M. Johnston, Land-Grant Centennial Visiting Lecturer; John Beer appointed assistant professor, Samuel Haber and Stephen Lukashevich, instructor. *Denison University*: G. Wallace Chessman promoted to professor, Edward N. Todd, to assistant professor; Raymond J. Cunningham and Edward W. Monter appointed instructor. *Duke University*: Robert I. Crane appointed professor, Warren Lerner, assistant professor. *Franklin and Marshall College*: Solomon Wank appointed to the staff. *Gettysburg College*: Roger Stemen appointed assistant professor. *Grinnell College*: Raymond F. Betts appointed to the staff. *Harpur College*: Howard Isham appointed to the staff. *Harvard University*: Richard Helmstadter appointed to the staff. *Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace*: Ernst L. Presseisen appointed research associate. *University of Idaho*: Jerome Bernstein appointed instructor; Donald M. Barnes appointed instructor for the second semester, 1961-62, to replace Siegfried B. Rolland who will be on leave. *University of Illinois*: Clark C. Spence and J. Alden Nichols appointed associate professor, Winton Solberg, visiting professor; Fred A. Shannon to retire; Arthur Bestor and Maurice Lee, Jr., on leave. *Immaculate Heart College* (Los Angeles): Knox Mellon, Jr., promoted to assistant professor. *Indiana University*: Robert Ferrell, Donald Carmony, and Chase Mooney promoted to professor, John Snyder and Gerald Strauss, to associate professor, and Rena Vassar, to assistant professor; Denis Sinor appointed visiting professor, Charles Jelavich, visiting professor for the first semester, Karl-Gustaf Hildebrand and Russel B. Nye, visiting professor for the second semester, George Soulis, visiting associate professor, Roland Duncan, visiting assistant professor, Albert C. Todd and Edmund Wehrle, lecturer, and Barbara Jelavich, lecturer for the first semester. *Iowa Wesleyan College*: John W. Carson promoted to professor; John R. Kapp appointed professor.

Johns Hopkins University: Philip B. Taylor and John Baldwin appointed to the staff. *Long Beach State College*: Raymond E. Lindgren named dean and appointed professor; Howard E. Kimball, Donald W. Peters, and Richard H.

Wilde promoted to professor, Alexander Lipski, to associate professor; Richard Raack appointed assistant professor, Alan Brownsword and Joel Tarr, instructor; Nicholas B. Hardeman and James F. Ragland on leave for 1961-62. *Mary Washington College*: Robert Leroy Hilldrup named chairman of the department; Robert H. Puckett and M. M. Renzulli, Jr., appointed assistant professor; Oscar H. Darter and Myrick Sublette have retired. *University of Maryland*: Paul K. Conkin promoted to associate professor, Leonard M. Pitt and Frank O. Gatell, to assistant professor. *University of Massachusetts*: Winfred Bernhard appointed to the staff. *University of Michigan*: Sylvia Thrupp appointed professor, Roger Hackett, associate professor. *University of Michigan (Flint College)*: Dorothea Wyatt promoted to professor, Robert G. Schafer, to associate professor. *Michigan State University*: Wallace P. Strauss appointed to the staff. *Middlebury College*: Hollins McKim Steele appointed to the staff. *Montgomery Junior College*: William L. Fox named chairman of the department and promoted to professor; R. Justus Hanks and Jack W. Henry, Jr., promoted to associate professor. *Municipal University of Omaha*: Raymond Albert Smith, Jr., appointed instructor.

National Archives and Records Service: Herman Kahn appointed special assistant to the Archivist of the United States. *Newark College of Engineering*: Stanley B. Winters promoted to assistant professor; Herbert Druks, Bernard George, and Warren C. Grover appointed instructor. *Northwestern University*: Roland Oliver appointed visiting professor for the spring semester, 1962; John Roy McLane and James E. Sheridan appointed instructor. *University of Oregon*: J. F. Gilliam appointed professor, C. H. Carter and F. R. Birn, instructor; R. P. Bonine appointed instructor for 1961-62. *Oregon State University*: George Barr Carson, Jr., appointed professor and named chairman of the department to replace Joseph W. Ellison who is retiring; Frank Shaw and Leonard Adolf promoted to associate professor. *Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission*: Donald H. Kent named director of the Bureau of Research, William A. Hunter, chief of the Division of Research and Publications. *Purdue University*: Robert J. Graf, Jr., promoted to associate professor; Edwin T. Layton and Alexander B. Callow, Jr., appointed assistant professor; George H. Mayer on leave for the first semester, 1961-62. *University of Rhode Island*: Herman Weill appointed assistant professor. *Rice University*: Sanford W. Higginbotham named dean of students and appointed professor. *Rutgers University*: William H. Harbaugh appointed visiting associate professor, John O'Neill Lenaghan, assistant professor, and Rudolph J. Vecoli, lecturer; Robert Middleton appointed to the staff.

St. Peter's College: John Sherwood appointed to the staff. *San Fernando Valley State College*: W. A. Stelck promoted to professor, Julian Nava, to associate professor; David Chan appointed assistant professor, Reba Soffer and Douglas Steeples, instructor. *San Jose State College*: H. Brett Melendy, E. P. Panagopoulos, and Mildred Winters promoted to professor, Nelson Klose, David Kulstein, and Lawrence Lee, to associate professor; Peter M. Buzanski, Richard S. Cramer, Robert J. Hendrickson, and John Sperling appointed assistant professor. *Smith College*: Klemens von Klemperer and Donald H. Sheehan promoted to professor, Ramon E. Ruiz, to associate professor; Allan Mitchell appointed assistant professor, Joan Mary Afferica and Cathy King, instructor, and Robert Haddad, visit-

ing lecturer; Sidney R. Packard and Elisabeth Koffka retired. *South Carolina Archives Department*: Charles E. Lee named director. *Southern Illinois University*: C. Harvey Gardiner appointed research professor, Lee B. Kinnett and Lonnie R. Shelby, lecturer for 1961-62. *Spelman College*: Staughton Lynd appointed to the staff. *Syracuse University*: Yury G. Arbatsky appointed associate professor. *Temple University*: Harold Poor appointed to the staff. *Tufts University*: Aubrey L. Parkman and George A. Hoar promoted to assistant professor; George J. Marcopoulos appointed instructor. *Tulane University*: Nels M. Bailkey and W. Burlie Brown promoted to professor, Charles T. Davis, Raymond Esthus, Thomas L. Karnes, and Hugh F. Rankin, to associate professor, and Henry A. Kmen, to assistant professor; John D. Nichols appointed instructor; Mary Bernard Allen retired and appointed emeritus associate professor; William R. Hogan on leave for 1961-62.

University of Virginia: T. P. Abernethy retired. *University of Washington*: Marc Szeftel appointed professor. *Wells College*: David MacKenzie appointed assistant professor. *Wesleyan University*: Kennerly Woody appointed to the staff. *West Virginia University*: John F. Golay named dean of the graduate school and appointed professor; Mortimer Levine and Edward M. Steel, jr., promoted to associate professor; John A. Caruso appointed associate professor, Douglas W. Houston, assistant professor; Sara Rector Smith retired. *Western Michigan University*: Howard Mowen promoted to professor, Ernst Breisach, to associate professor, Sherwood Cordier, to assistant professor; Robert Hahn and Emmanuel Nodel appointed assistant professor; Robert Friedman retired. *University of Western Ontario*: James Q. Cahill appointed to the staff. *College of William and Mary*: Thad W. Tate appointed assistant professor. *University of Wisconsin*: Merrill Jensen named chairman of the department; John F. C. Harrison appointed associate professor, Edward M. Coffman, Morton Rothstein, and Alfred E. Senn, assistant professor; Charles S. Campbell, Karl-Gustaf Hildebrand, and Giorgio Spini appointed to the staff for the first semester, 1961-62; Eric Lampard, Leon Litwack, George L. Mosse, and Irvin G. Wyllie on leave for 1961-62; Richard Current named Harmsworth Professor, Oxford University, 1962-63. *Yale University*: John Hall appointed to the staff.

RECENT DEATHS

Isabel M. Calder died December 17, 1960.

Beverly Waugh Bond, professor emeritus of history at the University of Cincinnati and former chairman of the department, died February 1, 1961, at the age of eighty-three. Past president of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, Dr. Bond served as curator and president of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio. His works include *State Government in Maryland, 1777-1781*, *The Monroe Mission to France, 1794-1796*, and *The Quit Rent System in the American Colonies*.

Frans van Kalken, professor emeritus of history of the University of Brussels, died April 3, three months before his eightieth birthday. A leader among the

historians of his country by reason of his many excellent writings on Belgian history and because of his friendly personality, his sense of humor, and his active part in the organization of scholarship and international cooperation, he attended and often participated in the six international historical congresses, from that of Brussels in 1923 to the congress in Rome of 1955. As a Belgian delegate to the International Committee of Historical Sciences, he served on standing and special committees and was a member of its Bureau from 1950 to 1955. His good-natured criticism of the most recent congresses, presented to the Belgian Academy under the title "La robotisation des congrès d'histoire," is well worth consideration by those responsible for the organization and procedures of such gatherings. An influential and beloved teacher, his many services to his university included the notable strengthening of its library. He was a member of the Royal Academy of Belgium, *grand officier* of the order of Léopold, *officier* of the *Légion d'Honneur*, and honorary professor in several foreign universities.

Frank Maloy Anderson, professor emeritus at Dartmouth College, died in St. Paul, Minnesota, on April 26, at the age of ninety. He was born in Omaha, Nebraska, February 3, 1871, and graduated from the University of Minnesota in 1894 where he served as assistant professor and professor of history from 1898 to 1914. From 1914 to 1941 he was professor at Dartmouth. He devoted the years of his retirement, until his health failed, to research, much of it in the Library of Congress.

His early special field of study was diplomatic history, and during the First World War he produced a compact *Handbook of the Diplomatic History of Europe, Asia and Africa, 1870-1914*, which was published by the Department of State and led to his appointment as expert in the United States Commission to the Paris Peace Conference of 1918. The following year he was commissioned a member of the Army Educational Corps, which supervised the education in French universities of American soldiers awaiting transportation to the United States. Later he devoted much attention to the history of the Civil War and to the life of Lincoln, especially to the period between the latter's election and inauguration. Intrigued by the anonymous authorship of the "Diary of a Public Man," he undertook an exhaustive search into the various possibilities. He reached the conclusion that the author was Sam Ward, elder brother of Julia Ward Howe, and wrote a detailed account of his investigation, which was published in 1948: *The Mystery of a Public Man, An Historical Detective Story*. This substantial volume revealed Anderson's very considerable powers of critical analysis and an exceedingly interesting and readable literary style.

Shortly before his death Anderson presented to the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress the vast collection of his research notes, made over many years in the United States and abroad. These relate to many subjects, the majority of which, judging from bulk, appear to be on the history of European countries in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the Civil War and Lincoln, and the "Diary of a Public Man."

Frank Anderson was a devoted member of the American Historical Association. Elected in 1897, he probably held the record for attendance at its annual

meetings, and in his will left a bequest to the Association. He served on various committees and as a member of the Executive Council, 1917-1920. He was also an active member of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association and of Phi Beta Kappa. In 1953 the University of Minnesota conferred upon him its Achievement Award. He contributed articles and numerous reviews of high quality to the *American Historical Review* and other historical journals. His students, especially those who took his advanced courses, considered him a notable teacher, and he rendered exceedingly important service to the library of Dartmouth College as chairman of the Library Committee. A man of strong feelings, he had many friends.

Irving Stoddard Kull, former chairman of the department of history at Rutgers University, died July 24, at the age of seventy-seven. He was the author of *New Jersey, A History*.

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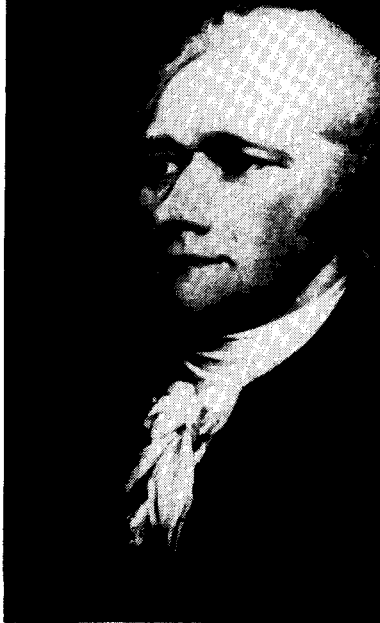
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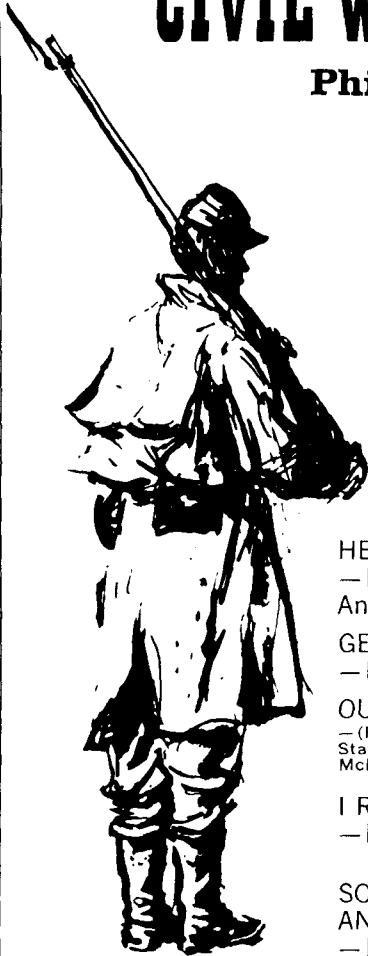
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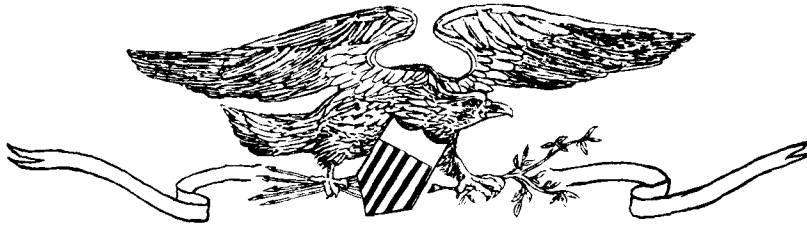
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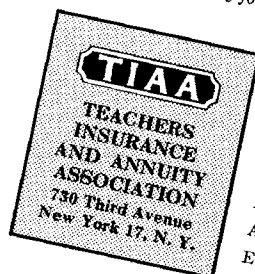
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